

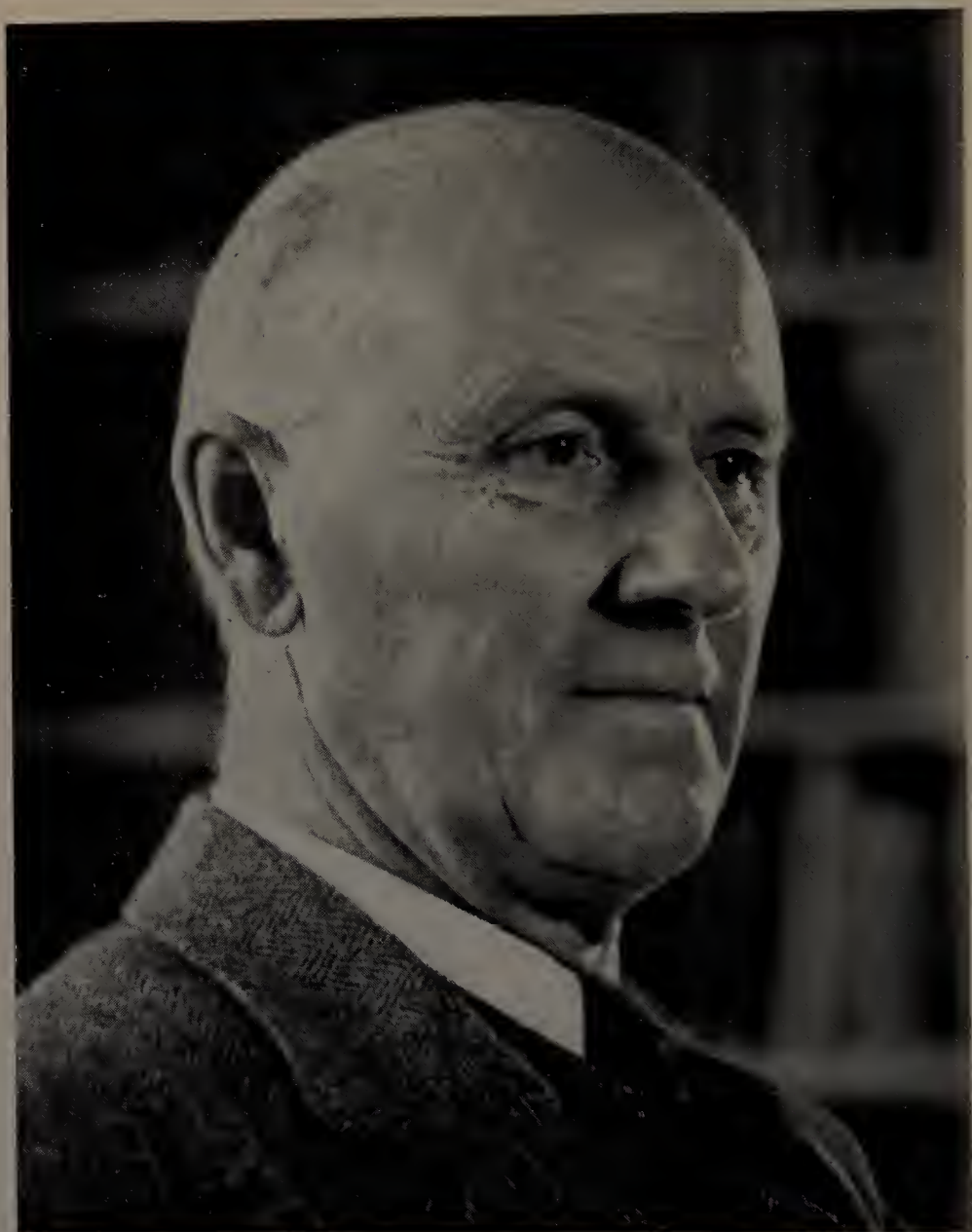
Anno 1778.

PHILLIPS ACADEMY



OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES
LIBRARY





John Brook

Arthur Stanley Pease

HARVARD STUDIES
IN
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

*EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE CLASSICAL
INSTRUCTORS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY*

VOLUME LX



CAMBRIDGE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON : GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1951

COPYRIGHT, 1951
BY THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE

480
H26
v.60

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ARTHVRO STANLEY PEASE
SEPTVAGENARIO
COLLEGAE · DISCIPVLI
AMICI

72055

PREFATORY NOTE

THESE Studies are published by authority of Harvard University and are contributed chiefly by its instructors and graduates, although contributions from other sources are not excluded. It is recommended that future contributors follow the style-sheet published by Glanville Downey in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 54 (1950), 3, pp. 268-269. The publication of the *Harvard Studies* is partly supported by a fund of about \$18,000 generously subscribed by the Class of 1856.

HERBERT BLOCH	}	EDITORIAL COMMITTEE
ERIC ALFRED HAVELOCK		
JOHN PETERSEN ELDER		

CONTENTS

PUBLICATIONS OF ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE, 1901-1950 . . .	I
ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE, THE BOTANICAL EXPLORER . . . Merritt L. Fernald	11
THE SPOKEN AND THE WRITTEN WORD William Chase Greene	23
THE DATE OF "PAEAN" 6 AND "NEMEAN" 7 John Huston Finley, Jr.	61
CORINTHIACA	81
VI. The Latin Elegiacs of <i>ca.</i> 101 B.C.	83
VII. Greek Elegiacs of the Roman Empire Sterling Dow	96
NOTES ON SOME CONSCIOUS AND SUBCONSCIOUS ELEMENTS IN CATULLUS' POETRY	101
John Petersen Elder	
THE DATE OF CICERO'S "BRUTUS"	137
Edward A. Robinson	
"GERMANA PATRIA"	147
Mason Hammond	
ALPES POPULIQUE INALPINI (Plin. <i>N. H.</i> III 47)	175
Joshua Whatmough	
ON THE RELATIONSHIP OF CODEX AUGIENSIS AND CODEX BOERNERIANUS OF THE PAULINE EPISTLES	187
William Henry Paine Hatch	

MYSTERION	201
Arthur Darby Nock	
SOCRATES AND CHRIST	205
George M. A. Hanfmann	
AN UNRECOGNIZED SACRAMENTARY OF TOURS	235
Edward Kennard Rand	
(Prepared for publication by James A. McDonough, S.J., and Thomas J. Wade, S.J.)	
WALT WHITMAN AND HIS REACTION TO THE CLASSICS . . .	263
Richard Mott Gummere	
SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D. . .	291
NOTES FOR READERS AND FOR LIBRARIANS	305

PUBLICATIONS OF ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE
1901-1950

ABBREVIATIONS

AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
CJ	<i>Classical Journal</i>
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CW	<i>Classical Weekly</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
JEGPh	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
PAPA	<i>Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
Univ. of Ill. Stud. in Lang. and Lit.	<i>University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature</i>

All of Professor Pease's scholarly contributions that have come to our attention — botanical as well as classical — are included. Of his publications in other fields, a generous selection will be found here.

1901

1. *Some Wild Flowers of Andover with their dates of flowering together with a list of the Ferns of Andover.* Published by the School Department [Andover]. pp. 31.

1902

2. *List of Plants Introduced into Andover, Mass. in 1902* (with A. H. Moore). pp. 7.
3. "De Beneficiis Studiosae Vitae Tradendis," *Harvard Advocate*, 73: 127-128.
4. "*Hieracium praealtum* at Andover, Massachusetts," *Rhodora*, 4: 197.
5. "Two New Stations for *Arceuthobium*," *Rhodora*, 4: 249.

1903

6. "*Erodium malacoides* at Lawrence, Massachusetts," *Rhodora*, 5: 39.
7. "The Genus *Trisetum* in Andover, Massachusetts," *Rhodora*, 5: 289-290.

1904

8. "Notes on Some Uses of Bells among the Greeks and Romans," *HSCP* 15: 29-59.
9. "Preliminary Lists of New England Plants, — XV," *Rhodora*, 6: 85-88.

1905

10. "Notes on the Accentuation of Certain Generic Names," *Rhodora*, 7: 157-161.

1906

11. "Peculiarities of *Botrychium lanceolatum* in America" (with A. H. Moore), *Rhodora*, 8: 229.
12. "Coburn Hymn," *Bull. of Coburn Class. Institute*, Waterville, Maine, 1: 97.

1907

13. "Notes on St. Jerome's Tractates on the Psalms," *Journ. of Biblical Literature*, 26: 107-131 (a condensation of Professor Pease's doctoral thesis *De Sancti Hieronymi Commentariolis Tractatibusque in Psalmos Quaestiones Varias*. Harvard University, 1905).
14. "Notes on Stoning among the Greeks and Romans," *TAPA* 38: 5-18.
15. "An Alpine Variety of *Houstonia caerulea*" (with A. H. Moore), *Rhodora*, 9: 209-210.

1908

16. "Preliminary List of New England Plants, — XV. Addenda," *Rhodora*, 10: 36.
17. "Four Introduced Plants at Cambridge, Massachusetts," *Rhodora*, 10: 167.

1909

18. "Iterum Hieronymiana," *Revue Bénédictine*, 26: 386-388.
19. "Certain Railroad Weeds of Northern New Hampshire," *Rhodora*, 11: 30.
20. "A *Juncus* new to New England," *Rhodora*, 11: 31.
21. "*Cryptogramma Stelleri* in New Hampshire," *Rhodora*, 11: 64.

1910

22. "A Harvard Manuscript of St. Augustine," *HSCP* 21: 51-74.
23. Rev. of H. Preble and S. M. Jackson, *The Sources of "Jerusalem the Golden."* *CP* 5: 402-404.

24. Reports of the lectures of Professor Eduard Meyer at the University of Illinois. *Daily Illini*, 39, nos. 123-125 (March 11, 12, 13).
25. "Agropyron caninum and its North American Allies" (with A. H. Moore), *Rhodora*, 12: 61-77.

1911

26. "The Omen of Sneezing," *CP* 6: 429-443.
27. "Fragments of a Latin Manuscript in the Library of the University of Illinois," *TAPA* 42: 147-156.
28. Rev. of J. M. Burnam, *Commentaire anonyme sur Prudence*. *CP* 6: 125-126.
29. Rev. of *The Histories of Tacitus* ed. by F. G. Moore. *CJ* 6: 314.
30. Rev. of *Cicero's Letters* ed. by E. Riess. *CJ* 6: 317-348.
31. "Helianthus subrhomboideus in New Hampshire," *Rhodora*, 13: 103.
32. "List of Plants on Three Mile Island," *Appalachia*, 12: 266-276.
33. "Not News and News," *The Nation*, 93 (Nov. 9): 443; *New York Evening Post* (Nov. 11).
34. "The New Museums to be located in Lincoln Hall," *Daily Illini*, 41, no. 50 (Nov. 15).

1912

35. Rev. of R. Wunsch *Antike Fluchtafeln* and *Aus einem griechischen Zauberpapyrus*. *CP* 7: 514-515.
36. Rev. of *S. Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, Pars I, ed. I. Hilberg, *CJ* 7: 218-219.

1913

37. "The Conclusion of Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*," *TAPA* 44: 25-37.
38. Rev. of J. S. McIntosh, *A Study of Augustine's Versions of Genesis*. *CP* 8: 489-491.
39. "Museum of Classical Archaeology and Art," *Alumni Quarterly of the Univ. of Ill.*, 7 (Jan.): 7-11.
40. "The Confessions of One behind the Times," 'By an Old-timer,' *Atlantic Monthly*, 111 (March): 353-356.

1914

41. "Medical Allusions in the Works of St. Jerome," *HSCP* 25: 73-86.

42. Rev. of F. Lammert, *De Hieronymo Donati Discipulo*. CP 9: 218-219.
43. "A Form of *Potentilla tridentata*," *Rhodora*, 16: 194-195.

1915

44. "A Gallic Parallel," CW 8: 168.
45. Rev. of R. Cirilli, *Les prêtres danseurs de Rome*. CP 10: 103-104.
46. "A Northern *Solidago* in the White Mountains," *Rhodora*, 17: 72.
47. "*Arenaria stricta* in the White Mountains," *Rhodora*, 17: 232-233.

1917

48. "Notes on the Delphic Oracle and Greek Colonization," CP 12: 1-20.
49. "Were There Two Versions of Cicero's *Prognostica*?" CP 12: 302-304.
50. Rev. of F. Fessler, *Benutzung der philosophischen Schriften Ciceros durch Lactanz*. CP 12: 103-104.
51. Rev. of E. Tavenner, *Studies in Magic from Latin Literature*. CW 10: 207-208.
52. "Is *Aster tardiflorus* a Hybrid?" *Rhodora*, 19: 88-90.
53. "*Taraxacum ceratophorum* in New England," *Rhodora*, 19: 111-112.
54. "Notes on the Botanical Exploration of the White Mountains," *Appalachia*, 14: 157-178.

1918

55. *Index Verborum quae in Senecae Fabulis necnon in Octavia Praetexta reperiuntur* (with W. A. Oldfather and H. V. Canter; *Univ. of Ill. Stud. in Lang. and Lit.*, IV, 2-4). pp. 272.
56. "On the Authenticity of the *Hercules Oetaeus*," *TAPA* 49: 3-26.
57. "Cicero *De Divinatione* I. 80," CP 13: 210-211.
58. "Aeneas Tacticus 38, 4-5," *AJP* 39: 404.
59. "On the Κεστοί of Julius Africanus" (with W. A. Oldfather). *AJP* 39: 405-406.
60. Rev. of C. H. Moore, *The Religious Thought of the Greeks*. *HTR* 11: 436-437.
61. "Nuttall and Pickering in the White Mountains," *Rhodora*, 20: 39.

62. "Mahoosuc Notch," *Appalachia*, 14: 234-239.
63. "History, Ancient and Modern," *The Nation*, 106 (Feb. 14): 183.
64. "Appalachian Indignation," *The Nation*, 107 (Nov. 9): 556.

1919

65. "The Attitude of Jerome towards Pagan Literature," *TAPA* 50: 150-167.
66. "A Historical Allusion Explained," *CP* 14: 175-177.

1920

67. *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Divinatione Liber Primus* (Univ. of Ill. Stud. in Lang. and Lit., VI, 2-3). pp. 1-338.
68. "Is the *Octavia* a Play of Seneca?" *CJ* 15: 388-403.
69. "The Son of Croesus," *CP* 15: 201-202.
70. "The Museum of Classical Archaeology and Art," *Sixteen Years at the University of Illinois*, pp. 121-124.

1921

71. "Sceleratum frigus," *CP* 16: 81.
72. "Paralipomena," *CP* 16: 200.
73. "Virgilian Determinism," *CW* 15: 2-5.
74. "From Solon to Stevenson," *Phi Beta Kappa Key*, 4: 454-461.
75. Rev. of M. L. Lilly, *The Georgic*. *JEGPh* 20: 125-127.
76. Rev. of T. O. Wedel, *The Mediaeval Attitude toward Astrology, particularly in England*. *JEGPh* 20: 286-288.
77. Rev. of L. N. Broughton, *The Theocritean Element in the Works of William Wordsworth*. *JEGPh* 20: 412-414.
78. "Gray Pine and Arbor-Vitae," *Rhodora*, 23: 247-249.

1923

79. *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Divinatione Liber Secundus* (Univ. of Ill. Stud. in Lang. and Lit., VIII, 2-3). pp. 339-656.
80. *Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus, Onosander with an English Translation* (with W. A. Oldfather and other members of the Faculty Greek Club of the University of Illinois). (Loeb Classical Library.) London and New York. pp. x + 532.
81. Report on the first decade of the Illinois Faculty Greek Club. *CJ* 18: 247-248.
82. "A Noteworthy Survival," *CR* 37: 165-166.
83. Rev. of W. J. Evans, *Alliteratio Latina*. *CP* 18: 92-95.

84. Rev. of T. Frank, *Vergil. A Biography*. *CJ* 18: 443-445.
85. Rev. of F. L. Lucas, *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy*. *JEGPh* 22: 581-582.

1924

86. "The *Octavia* once more," *CP* 19: 80-83.
87. "Seasickness," *CP* 19: 177-178.
88. "The Classical Museum," President's Report, University of Illinois, for the Year 1922-23, pp. 163-164.
89. "Finis Origine Pendet," *Phillips Bulletin*, XVIII, 2: 15.
90. *Vascular Flora of Coös County, New Hampshire*. (Proc. of the Boston Soc. of Nat. Hist., XXXVII, 3.) Boston. pp. 350, 7 pl.
91. "*Eleocharis tuberculosa* in New Hampshire," *Rhodora*, 26: 37-38.
92. "Notes on the Randolph Flora," in G. N. Cross, *Randolph Old and New*. Randolph, N. H., pp. 211-219.
93. "The Memorial Bridge at Randolph," *Appalachia*, 16: 85-87.

1925

94. "Prometheus and Tityos," *CP* 20: 277-278.
95. Rev. of W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur*. *AJP* 46: 378-380.
96. Reviews of twenty-two volumes in *Books* (*New York Herald-Tribune* literary supplement) and of one in the *New York Sun*.
97. "Madness in Their Method," *The Churchman*, 132 (Dec. 5): 16.

1926

98. "Things without Honor," *CP* 21: 27-42.
99. "Quadripedante putrem," *CJ* 21: 625-628.
100. Rev. of *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum Libri I, II*, ed. J. S. Reid. *CP* 21: 84-85.
101. "A Visit to Northwestern Newfoundland," *Appalachia*, 16: 278-284.
102. Reviews of twenty-two volumes in *Books* (*New York Herald-Tribune*).

1927

103. "The Loves of the Plants," *CP* 22: 94-98.
104. "Some Aspects of the Character of Dido," *CJ* 22: 243-252.
105. "Notes on the Pathetic Fallacy in Latin Poetry," *CJ* 22: 645-657.

106. "On the Spirit of Fairness" (First Chapel Address), *Amherst Graduates' Quarterly*, XVII, no. 65, pp. 32-37 (and elsewhere).
107. "The Aims of a Liberal College" (Inaugural Address), *Amherst Graduates' Quarterly*, XVII, no. 66 (1928), pp. 71-87; repr. in *School and Society*, 26: 695-705 (and elsewhere).
108. Address to Alumni Council. *Amherst Alumni Council News*, I, 2 (Dec.): 16-20.
109. Reviews of two volumes in *Books* (*New York Herald-Tribune*).

1928

110. "Remarks on Teaching English," *The English Leaflet*, 27: 1-8; repr. in *The Virginia Teacher*, 9: 67-72.
111. Historical Address at the Phillips Academy Sesquicentennial. *Phillips Bulletin*, XXIII, 1: 44-52.
112. Addresses. *Amherst Graduates' Quarterly*, XVII, no. 69, pp. 34-37; *Amherst Alumni Council News*, I, 4 (March): 5-9.
113. President's Report. *Amherst Alumni Council News*, II, 2 (Suppl.) (Dec.): 1-13 (and elsewhere).
114. "A Second Note on Sata," *CW* 21: 127.
115. "Plants new to Coös County, N. H.," *Rhodora*, 30: 104-105.

1929

116. Addresses. *Amherst Alumni Council News*, II, 4 (March): 4-10; III, 2 (Dec.): 9-13 (and elsewhere).
117. President's Report. *Amherst Alumni Council News*, III, 3 (Suppl.) (Feb.): 1-14 (and elsewhere).
118. "A Day in Gaspé," *Rhodora*, 31: 54-56.

1930

119. Addresses. *Amherst Alumni Council News*, III, 4 (March): 3-10; III, 6 (July): 3-8; IV, 1 (Oct.): 5-8; IV, 2 (Dec.): 34-38.
120. President's Report. *Amherst Alumni Council News*, IV, 2 (Suppl.) (Dec.): 1-12 (and elsewhere).
121. "Botanical Notes from Northern Vermont," *Rhodora*, 32: 17-18.
122. "A *Carex* new to New England," *Rhodora*, 32: 258.

1931

123. Addresses. *Amherst Alumni Council News*, V, 1 (Oct.): 3-6; V, 2 (Dec.): 11-15.

124. President's Report. *Amherst Alumni Council News*, V, 2 (Suppl.) (Dec.): 1-11 (and elsewhere).
 125. "A Note on Vergil, *Eclogues* I and IX," *CJ* 26: 538-540.

1932

126. Addresses. *Amherst Alumni Council News*, V, 4 (March): 8-11; V, 6 (July): 10-14; *Heritage* I, 2 (July): 7-8 (and elsewhere).
 127. "Thoughts of a President," *Amherst Graduates' Quarterly*, XXI, no. 84, pp. 239-246.
 128. President's Report. *Amherst Alumni Council News*, VI, 2 (Suppl.) (Dec.): 1-14.

1933

129. "Notes on Ancient Grafting," *TAPA* 64: 66-76.

1935

130. *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press. pp. ix + 568.
 131. "*Panicum longifolium* in New Hampshire," *Rhodora*, 37: 267.

1936

132. Rev. of H. R. Fairclough, *Some Aspects of Horace*. *CJ* 31: 566.
 133. Verses for the 90th birthday of Prof. E. A. Grosvenor. *Amherst Graduates' Quarterly*, XXV, no. 98, pp. 139-140.

1937

- 134-135. Articles "Ölbaum" and "Oleum" in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *RE* 17, 2, cols. 1998-2022 and 2454-2474.

1938

136. "Book and Style," *Italica*, 15: 129-131.

1939

137. "Latin Inscriptions in the Virgin Islands," *HSCP* 50: 85-88.
 138. "Scintillae," *CP* 34: 148.
 139. "Analogues of the Hercynian Elks," *CP* 34: 372-373.
 140. Rev. of H. Boas, *Aeneas' Arrival in Latium*. *CP* 34: 267-269.
 141. Rev. of A. Pittet, *Vocabulaire philosophique de Sénèque*. *AJP* 60: 263-264.

1940

142. "Mantua me genuit," *CP* 35: 180-182.
 143. "A Note on Isidore," *AJP* 61: 80.

- 144. "Some Remarks on the Diagnosis and Treatment of Tuberculosis in Antiquity," *Isis*, 31: 380-393.
- 145. Rev. of Cicero, *De Divinatione, De Fato, Timaeus*, ed. W. Ax. CP 35: 92-93.
- 146. "Tenney Frank," *Proc. Am. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, 74: 123-124.

1941

- 147. "Caeli enarrant," *HTR* 34: 163-200.
- 148. Rev. of J. Hubaux and M. Leroy, *Le Mythe du phénix dans les littératures grecque et latine*. CP 36: 91-92.
- 149. Rev. of M. Terenti Varronis *De Vita Populi Romani*, ed. B. Riposati. *AJP* 62: 514.
- 150. "The Virtues of Mastication," *Spectator*, May 23, pp. 554-555.

1942

- 151. "Some Aspects of Invisibility," *HSCP* 53: 1-36.
- 152. "Fossil Fishes Again," *Isis*, 33: 689-690.
- 153. Rev. of H. Bolkestein, *Wohltätigkeit u. Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum*. *AJP* 63: 378-379.
- 154. Rev. of R. C. Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches at Nola*. CP 37: 451-453.

1943

- 155. "Indirect Discourse in Caesar," *Classical Studies in Honor of W. A. Oldfather*, pp. 154-156.
- 156. "The Son of Neptune," *HSCP* 54: 69-82.
- 157. Rev. of E. L. Highbarger, *The Gates of Dreams*. CP 38: 60-61.
- 158. "Polygonum puritanorum in Maine," *Rhodora*, 45: 215.
- 159. "Five Points," *The Church Militant*, 46, no. 8, pp. 3-5.

1944

- 160. Rev. of W. A. Oldfather and others, *Studies in the Text Tradition of St. Jerome's Vitae Patrum*. CP 39: 194-196.
- 161. "Paululum cedant arma togae," *Harvard Alumni Bull.*, 46: 559.
- 162. "Cirsium Flodmani in New England," *Rhodora*, 46: 87-88.

1945

- 163. Rev. of Sister M. J. Kelly, *Life and Times as Revealed in the Writings of St. Jerome*. *AHR* 50: 593-594.
- 164. Minute on William Abbott Oldfather. *PAPA* 76: XXIV-XXVI.

1946

- 165. *Sequestered Vales of Life*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press. pp. viii + 129.
- 166. "Notes on Book-burning," *Munera Studiosa* (Studies in Honor of W. H. P. Hatch), pp. 145-160.
- 167. Faculty minute on Edward Kennard Rand. *Harvard University Gazette*, 41 (Jan. 19): 79-80.

1947

- 168. "Mythology and Mycology," *CP* 42: 253.
- 169. Faculty minute on Carl Newell Jackson. *Harvard University Gazette*, 42 (Jan. 11): 91-92.
- 170. Rev. of E. Poore, *The Great White Hills of New Hampshire*. *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, 30 (Feb. 15): 37.

1948

- 171. "Dictamnus," *Mélanges . . . offerts à J. Marouzeau*, pp. 469-474.
- 172. Rev. of S. Skard, *The Use of Color in Literature*. *CP* 43: 142.
- 173. Rev. of *Virgilio Eneide, Libro quarto*, ed. E. Paratore. *CP* 43: 212-213.
- 174. Rev. of E. Bignone, *Storia della letteratura latina*, I-II. *CP* 43: 266-268.
- 175. Rev. of R. W. Cruttwell, *Virgil's mind at work*. *CJ* 44: 225-226.
- 176. "Remarks at the Grave of Dr. C. F. P. Bancroft," *Phillips Bulletin*, 43: 33.

1949

- 177. Articles "Auspicious," "Divination," "Haruspices," "Sibylla," "Sinon" in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, pp. 126, 292-293, 405-406, 835, 841.

1950

- 178. "*Holcus mollis* in New Hampshire," *Rhodora*, 52: 75.

No bibliography of the publications of Arthur Stanley Pease would be complete up to this moment without mentioning the *magnum opus*, now just finished after many years: an edition of Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, with a commentary as ample as that of *De Divinatione* (cf. *supra*, nos. 67 and 79). May ways soon be found to make this monumental work accessible to the scholarly world.

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE, THE BOTANICAL EXPLORER

BY MERRITT L. FERNALD

FOR more than half a century Stanley Pease has been an active botanical explorer. How, with such a keen interest in plants and their natural habitats, he was lured into classical philology is beyond the comprehension of a mere botanist of more limited horizon. However, the science of phytogeography or geographic botany of the more elevated and often remote areas of our northeastern states and adjacent Canada has been vastly enriched through his love of hard physical exercise, the climbing of mountains and cliffs, and discovering and collecting the rarer and often highly localized flowering plants and ferns.

His interest in wild plants began when he was twelve years old, stimulated by a friend of the family in Malden, Massachusetts. When he was scarcely fourteen he began his lifelong study of the plants of the White Mountain region of New Hampshire and in 1902, then scarcely out of college, he began publication on local plants of Andover, Massachusetts and the neighboring area. This steady stream of published studies, technical papers, and minor notes has continued to the present, with a brief memorandum on the finding of an inconspicuous grass new to the flora of New England published during the spring of 1950. Nearly all of his lesser botanical papers have appeared in the Journal of the New England Botanical Club, *Rhodora*.¹ Over a period of forty-eight years nearly two score of such articles have been printed. These, however, are relatively a minor product when compared with his most ambitious botanical publication, his *Vascular Flora of Coös County, New Hampshire*,² a volume of 350 pages.

As mentioned above, Pease's botanical explorations of Coös County, including the Presidential Range of the White Mountains and the lower and very different (because of more calcareous soils) region northward to the Canadian border, began when he was scarcely fourteen years old, and it has continued each summer, except when he was abroad. His compendious volume is a model of its kind, opening with more than 100 pages of a clear, far-seeing, and well-authenticated account of the geographic, geological, and phytogeographic features

of the region (the geological section by a specialist in that field). Then follows a history of botanical explorations in the county, these beginning with casual observations in 1642, but more seriously starting with the first expedition to the White Mountains of the Reverend Manasseh Cutler and party in 1784. From then on the enumeration continues for many pages with records of botanical explorers; then follow a detailed bibliography and the enumeration of the plants and their localities.

The content of these many pages is not pertinent here but chronology of discoveries of new or isolated species on the White Mountains has a direct bearing on our appreciation of Pease as an acute field-botanist. *Solidago Cutleri* commemorates the early visits of Cutler and is appropriately shown in a beautiful plate. *Geum Peckii* perpetuates the memory as a botanist of William Dandridge Peck, the first Professor of Natural History at Harvard (beginning in 1805). From time to time other new species were found on the Presidential Range but it was supposed that the period of discovery was past. In 1909, however, Pease discovered a remarkable carpet-forming willow near the head of King's Ravine on Mount Adams where "the dripping rocks of the gully and its high precipitous cliffs have proved forbidding to the path-builder, and only the most expert climbers have found their way." This, appropriately, is *Salix Peasei*.

Pease has always been too modest to enter far into the more technical fields of monographic study of groups of plants or their description. It can hardly be assumed that he balks at the requirement of the International Rules of Botanical Nomenclature, that all newly proposed species, etc., shall have a Latin diagnosis! His forte has been field work and discovery of novelties. There he is unexcelled, and difficulties and obstacles have always been a challenge to him. For example, nothing could be more unpleasant than gathering whole plants of blackberries, many of the species bearing hundreds or thousands of fierce prickles along the new canes and on the leafstalks. That genus is one of the most complicated of groups in temperate areas, and only within the last half century has it begun to be understood, this through assiduous accumulation of specimens in all stages of development: new leafy canes, old flowering canes, and fruiting canes, all these folded or cut into prescribed lengths for preservation. In the summer of 1917 Pease and I made it our primary responsibility to collect and prepare adequate material of the blackberries of northern New Hampshire. From June into September we lacerated our hands, arms, and necks in doing so, the final harvest being approxi-

mately 9000 segments 15 inches long. That such collecting, day after day from burns and clearings, is not a pleasure may be inferred from a brief quotation:

At the big dam at Dummer *Rubus sceleratus* covered a very extensive area of recently burned clearing. While Pease and I were struggling to secure representative pieces [with thousands of tough prickles] . . . the Keeper of the dam came to express his wonder at our performance and the hope that we would destroy several acres of the pest. Asked what kind of bramble he called it, his feelings were promptly indicated by his reply: "It's a damn nuisance!" Whereupon Pease and I, further struggling to get specimens without too seriously injuring ourselves, composed a tentative name from Dummerdam and the conventional ending, *ensis*.

Three months of daily routine such as this would not be carried through unless one were seriously devoted to his hobby! Perhaps we should not have taken it all in such good spirit if Mrs. Pease and their daughter, Henrietta, had not cheered us on, refraining from complaint at the vicious brambles with which we strewed the rugs, and regularly greeting our returns with the stimulating inquiry: "New to Coös County?" But botanizing in Coös County was, to Pease at least, a sort of homework, the family's summer home from his boyhood having been at Randolph, north of the Presidential Range. Consequently, wanderlust soon resulted in many trips, chiefly after the little-known floras of eastern Canada and the region of the upper Great Lakes. On eight of these expeditions (and a ninth one, resulting in British reverberations, into northwestern Scotland) we were together or with companions. On at least four others I had to be left out of the party.

The first of these slightly foreign trips together was in July and August of 1904, when Pease joined the late J. Franklin Collins and me in pioneer botanical exploration of the coastal region of the Gaspé Peninsula, from Carleton, on the Baie de Chaleur, to Gaspé Basin. A somewhat detailed account of this trip has been published³ and need not be repeated here. At that time Gaspé was unknown to the tourist. Most roads were poor, travel on land was by oxcart or wagon, hotels were almost wanting, and toilet facilities were mostly unheard of. At the now famous resort of tourists, Percé, we tried vainly to find proper accommodations, finally securing a single room.

This room, heavily musked and liberally hung with Mme. Traché's clothes and the inevitable sacred pictures and ornaments, with one feather-bed, screened by very thick curtains, the window tightly nailed against

possible opening, was the home and workshop for three men. At night we matched pennies to decide which of us would have the good luck to sleep on the floor, which would accommodate only one. . . . After supper [of parboiled beans] . . . we walked up to one of the headlands,

finding some plants previously known only from Alaska and northern Asia, others from Arctic regions, some endemic to Percé and vicinity.

That was a brilliant start and we tried to overlook the deficiencies of hotel-accommodations, complete lack of modern sanitary and toilet facilities, and improper food. These could not be wholly ignored, however, for we all suffered from pretty acute indigestion and, when we had had parboiled beans for three successive days and I asked our hostess for something more digestible, we came in to a supper of heavy French pancakes. Mme. Traché's father, a fisherman who spoke English, sat at table with us, and noticing that our physiological adjustments were not like his own, encouraged us by frequently urging: "Eat hearty fellers. Men can't work the way you do without eating hearty!" Our own supply of educator-crackers, raisins and chocolate kept us going and when, after getting back to Cambridge to recuperate, I was promptly sent to the Stillman Infirmary to have my inflamed appendix out, I was thankful that the operation had not been done by the fishermen at Percé!

Unfortunately, in his delightful *Sequestered Vales of Life* Pease did not describe the various types of Gaspésians we met or compare them with heroes of classical mythology (as he did one we met on the Straits of Belle Isle), but he could have expanded on one host with an empty trouser-leg who, while we were eating dinner, rose from the table and took from the mantel a long bone, ornamented by a large silken bow, and brought it to table as a personal exhibit, with the query: "Did you ever see a tibia? That was mine and my friends always like to hear me tell how I lost it." But, returning to botany, that season's botanizing on the low coast of Gaspé yielded fully sixty flowering plants and ferns which were quite new to the flora of temperate eastern North America, more than half of them wholly new to science. That record set a mark to aim at on later trips.

It was sixteen years before Pease and I were again together in the field. He joined for a few weeks a party to make botanical explorations in western Nova Scotia. Singularly enough, Nova Scotia had never found its way to the botanical map. It was generally considered to be a unit with southern New Brunswick across the Bay of Fundy; but, almost without making a stir, several plants had been found in the western half of the peninsula which, otherwise, were unknown from northeast of Cape Cod or even of southern New Jersey. When

this peculiar and very significant isolation was realized the obvious course was for a group of acute field-botanists to establish a center at Yarmouth, thence to cover in pairs or trios as much of the wilder areas as possible. Pease's sketch, "The Curly Grass," in *Sequestered Vales* hits the keynote.

One of the most localized plants of eastern North America, a relic of very ancient dispersal of its genus over the world (and chiefly in the southern hemisphere), is the Curly Grass, *Schizaea pusilla*, which characterizes the peaty spots in the Pine Barrens of New Jersey. Years ago (1879) a New York visitor, Miss Elizabeth Knight (later Mrs. Britton) found a colony by Grand Lake back of Halifax. She "collected . . . nearly all there were" and other botanists "searched in the locality where I found it, but in vain." Up to 1920 all searches for the magic plant on the mainland of Nova Scotia were fruitless. Consequently, one of the first assignments by the "Chief" or the "Old Man" was for Pease and Bayard Long (who intimately knew *Schizaea* in southern New Jersey) to go to a promising area south of Yarmouth for a first attempt to locate it. Pease's conclusion of his account of their success is worth quoting for the delicious humor. Mrs. Britton

had published an article called "How I found the Curly Grass." Our independent experience might have entitled us to do likewise, but when, three days later, we found it again . . . and when others of our party discovered it at various localities through the rest of the summer, we decided that the proper title for such an article was rather "How one can help finding the Curly Grass in Nova Scotia."

As already said, Pease struck the keynote. The summer of 1920 saw the addition of more than 225 flowering plants and ferns to the known flora of Nova Scotia, 32 of them new to science, 22 previously unknown from east of southern or central Maine, 28 formerly unknown from east of Massachusetts, others typical of New Jersey, and 1 (abundant), the first from northeast of Maryland. The record for the Gaspé summer was almost put to shame. But that merely started things. Subsequent trips to western Nova Scotia have greatly increased the number of strikingly disjunct ranges and have forced a new interpretation of the history of life in coastwise eastern North America. Pease had an active part in assembling this significant evidence.

In 1922 neither Pease nor I had planned a Canadian trip; but news coming of an impending visit, ostensibly to join me in Gaspésian

exploration, of a peculiarly "difficult" Old World botanist, it seemed the part of discretion to be out of reach for a fortnight. I, consequently, induced Pease to join me on a very simple driving trip down the St. Lawrence from Levis to the Gaspé coast. Nothing very new was anticipated, but upon reaching the mouth of Rivière Cap Chat we remembered that somewhere up that valley the great Canadian geologist, Sir William Logan, had discovered a distinctive high mountain in 1844 and that, although the name "Mt. Logan" had regularly appeared on Canadian maps, none of the parties from the Geological Survey of Canada had subsequently been able to locate it. That memory was an immediate challenge and we decided to try our mountaineering luck for a few days. Following up the river and through the Shickshock Mountains, we saw some picturesque and very tempting members of the range, with names as alluring as their subalpine slopes (Bonnehomme, Nicolasbert, Le Frère de Nicolasbert) but no Mount Logan. So we tackled the range by way of a deep ravine and, reaching the summit of the pass (subsequently called Fernald Pass), found ourselves in the midst of high and unexplored domes and summits. But blinding storms soon drove us out and we had to quit, leaving "Mt. Logan" still a mystery.⁴

Although we did not then locate Mount Logan, we had quite unwittingly climbed into a new botanical paradise. Whereas the portions of the Shickshock Mountains, which had already thrilled botanical explorers and seriously shaken our conceptions of plant-geography, were mostly of acidic or magnesian rock, this new area was chiefly calcareous, and, in spite of blinding storms, we were able in very brief time to snatch some of the more obvious specialties. This third type of alpine flora for the Shickshocks yielded us very rapidly 25 plants previously unknown from temperate eastern North America, several of them isolated by hundreds or even thousands of miles from their allies, and 7 new to science.

On this trip we became seriously involved with one of the most puzzling genera of grasses, the circumboreal genus *Poa*. I have noted our laborious summer which was devoted to *Rubus*, the brambles, including the blackberries. Here we saw nothing of them and, when I remarked on the joy of being away from the entanglements of *Rubus*, Pease promptly replied: "Yes, but we have a *Poa* substitute for them!" This substitute included one species previously known only in northern Europe and one supposed to grow exclusively in northwestern America.

After the exasperatingly short trip into the region of Mount Logan

we again followed the coast eastward, and hospitality along the way was reminiscent of that formerly met at Percé. One extract, again from *Sequestered Vales* (this in the sketch entitled "Grafton Post Office"), shows what suspicious characters we were:

on an early visit to the Gaspé Peninsula, before that charming relic of another age had been modernized to meet the needs of gaping tourists, and when two-wheeled carts with solid wooden wheels, drawn by yokes of oxen were still indigenous and authentic rather than revived to provoke exclamations — and fees — from ecstatic trippers with cameras, Merritt Fernald and I found ourselves settled for the night at the hamlet of Cap au Renard. Early after supper we were politely escorted to our bedroom, containing a large double bed, and, though no definite instructions were given us, we sensed that it was hoped that we might stay there till morning. After a tiring day, therefore, we were soon implanted between the sheets, only to discover that the church choir was being brought into the adjacent living room — our only route of escape to the outer world — to practice *misereres* against the next Sunday's services. In the semidarkness I amused myself by fingering some unfamiliar objects on the small stand at my bedside, and only later, by daylight, discovered that they were the cancellation-stamps of the local post office, in the precincts of which we, as migrant cuckoos, were ensconced.

The lure of long-lost "Mt. Logan" and the discovery of a novel alpine flora were enough to assemble by 1933 a party of seven acute botanists for a real survey of the area. Pease, of course, was in the party for a month.

A party led by Pease made a preliminary ascent of Mt. Logan, discovering that its northern and eastern walls plunge abruptly into a basin far more rugged and picturesque than Fernald Basin. . . . It was also the home of many more localized arctic, cordilleran and endemic plants; and in recognition of Pease's activity in exploring its cliffs and talus and of his well-known energy in exploration of the White Mountains this steep-walled gulf is here called "Pease Basin."

Botanically the Mount Logan area was wonderful and years of exploration will continue to yield surprises. Pease had his full share in making it known and on the steep slope of Razorback Ridge of Mount Logan, explored by Pease, Dr. Lyman B. Smith, and others, is the only colony known in the world of the tiny *Antennaria Peasei*!

Newfoundland had been yielding great surprises to the students of natural history (whether of land-snails, resident birds, or mammals) and the botanist was finding the same story of endemism, relicts, and

isolation. In the summer of 1925 Pease became a member of an expedition of seven botanists to explore the northern border of that vast island, along or near the Straits of Belle Isle. A vivid picture, portraying a bit of our experiences, occurs in *Sequestered Vales* under the title "The Straight Coast."

Botanically it was the same old story of discoveries and surprises and Pease's humor had full play. It is often implied that paronomasia is a boorish weakness, but it certainly is not so in Pease's case. Unfortunately, many of the lodgings that summer were uninviting, as, for instance, at Big Brook. There we were routed out at 2 A.M. for breakfast, and climbed down the ladder to the kitchen, to be greeted by our genial host with, "Well, did the bugs bother you much last night?" Upon our replying in emphatic affirmative we were informed: "It's funny, I can't sleep in those beds either." After such discomforts and often deficient meals a little punning was a tonic.

A grass which greatly interested us was *Catabrosa aquatica*, greedily eaten by the cattle. Of this I once wrote: "So generally have we come to associate the grass with the cattle-infested areas . . . that frivolous and classical members of my parties have nicknamed it 'Cattle-brows'er,' the name *Catabrosa* itself referring to the erose or nibbled margins of the glumes and lemmas." This sample shows how highly spiced was much of the conversation.

On the morning of Pease's departure for home he tucked a little Limerick under each plate at the breakfast table. One member of the party, Ludlow Griscom, had been taking off much time because of the presence sixteen miles away of a volunteer teacher for the Grenfell Mission, Miss Edith Sloane (soon after this trip she became Mrs. Griscom). Now, most of us would balk at trying to get a word to rhyme with Griscom, but this is what he found at his plate:

A collector there once was named Griscom,
Keen botanist had not a Miss come,
Who made all the plants
Remain in their haunts.
Ah! Has bachelor science to this come?

I have referred to a fulmination which became somewhat recurrent at the British Museum (Natural History) after our brief trip into northwestern Scotland. Bayard Long, my non-botanical son and I were in London when I received a letter from Pease (with his family in Sweden), suggesting that, while the ladies visited London, he join us for a few days in some unbotanized spot in Scotland, if such an

area existed. Following the good advice of friends at the Museum, we went to Kinlochewe on Loch Maree in Rosshire. The first day there we noted a sedge, familiar to us in northern New England and Canada but not known in old England; and later, on the slope of Ben Eigh, we collected a cotton-grass which we had known in Newfoundland, but which had been unknown in Britain. Specimens of all plants gathered were carried back fresh to the Museum, where the Keeper of European plants went over them with keen interest and had them properly dried. Later on, after securing specifications of the exact localities, he and a friend tried in vain to locate them; and to his dying day he held tenaciously to this explanation: that we had stopped a Canadian Pacific liner, from Montreal to Liverpool, in the Straits of Belle Isle, been put ashore in harborless northern Newfoundland, gathered the plants, kept them in cold storage for several weeks, and then brought them back, fresh and green, from Scotland as a joke on him! There is no accounting for British humor, but Pease can hardly be indicted. He had sailed by another route.

The Lake Superior region early attracted Pease and, with his friend Bean (constituting what he calls the two Legumes), he had achieved striking results of which I can hardly write; but "Pease was so gratified by the success of himself and Bean in discovering puzzling plants or in extending ranges on the north shore of Lake Superior that he invited me to join him . . . for a brief trip to the south shore of Lake Superior, in Michigan. Accordingly, on June 27 (1934), I met him and my son" and we explored much of the region north of Lakes Huron and Michigan and south of Lake Superior, including portions of "The Niagara Escarpment," described in *Sequestered Vales*, and concentrating on the Keweenaw Peninsula. So important were the results of this survey that the report upon it occupies nearly 100 pages, with many plates and far-reaching deductions: new species in *Geranium* and other conspicuous genera, many indigenous plants otherwise unknown from east of the Rocky Mountains, and phytogeographic conclusions which caused much more than a ripple. This is not the place for much detail but one incident was at least diverting. The hotel at Eagle Harbor had put out an alluring folder for prospective guests, stressing that they could there divorce all fear of hay fever, since ragweed is unknown in the region. After our first evening's meal there Pease and I went for a stroll in the twilight. A few rods from the hotel he said: "Look! isn't that ragweed?" Plants carried back to headquarters were "unknown" by the proprietor until we told him what they were. A crew immediately left under our guid-

ance to destroy the pest, but there was no reduction in our hotel bill.

Other exploring trips by Pease with different companions or alone have continued and will continue for years, all to make additions to our knowledge of the flora of temperate northeastern North America. Only one of these may here be noted. In July 1928, accompanied by the palaeontologist, Professor F. B. Loomis, Pease spent what he described as *A Day in Gaspé*. What a day, among dozens of the rarest of species! Near Cape Rosier he "climbed up this talus, which is loose and rather toilsome in passage, to its top." There he found a strange rock-cress, the "most interesting of all [plants found] . . . of which I collected one characteristic clump." This is *Draba Peasei*. If one would see it growing he must go to the tip of the Appalachian system on outermost Gaspé and make a "toilsome" ascent to the precipitous crest; if he would see *Salix Peasei* growing he must ascend the precipitous-walled and treacherously slippery King's Ravine up to an altitude of nearly 4000 feet; if he would see living mats of *Antennaria Peasei* he must go to rediscovered Mount Logan and work his way down the talus east of Razorback Ridge. These plants, which perpetuate in their names the botanical acuteness of their discoverer, are, like him, happiest in the highest and most inaccessible spots on our mountains.

Pease's services to botany are not alone his exploration of difficult country. They include his discovery of hundreds of rare and localized plants, his cheerful comradeship on all trips (for his companions have never heard a word of complaint from him, no matter how difficult the situation), his perpetual and delicate humor, and his unflinching capacity for prolonged and difficult tasks. His classical scholarship has been and is much leaned upon by botanists. In the preparation of the seventh edition of Gray's *Manual of Botany* (1908) he gave advice on accentuation of Latin names. In the preparation of the eighth edition, now coming from the press, he has given generously of his time in checking the derivations of fully 9000 names of Greek or Latin origin, in indicating their proper accentuation and in at least skimming the galley proofs for possible errors. In this latter greatly appreciated and to most people tedious duty, he has found amusement. Whenever the explanation of a specific name (followed by the name of the author) suggested a joke he made a marginal note of it. Names such as "*Gnaphalium calviceps* Fernald (baldheaded)" have been his delight, but it is evident that the name, *Eleocharis obtusa*, var. *Peasei* elicited no such comment. Carried back to its beginning, the situation is this. *Eleocharis obtusa* is a tiny club-rush with heads

of many minute flowers bearing, all told, a multitude of elongate hairs or slender bristles. Var. *Peasei* was originally distinguished as having the head "setis nullis." A name from that striking peculiarity would have been as appropriate as the honorary one selected!

When I came to Harvard in 1891 I was excluded from entering the College because of insufficient Latin, and was forced to enter the Lawrence Scientific School, where Latin was not a prerequisite, although my clumsiness and incapacity at anything in the line of mechanics, mathematics, or engineering is an outstanding trait. Somewhat later, in a desire to clarify the situation, a proposition was made to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences to transfer to Harvard College all students of the arts and pure science who were then in the school of applied science, where they were out of place, and to make the latter school more truly what it was supposed to be. During the debate Morris Morgan, Professor of Classical Philology, announced that the degree of Bachelor of Arts was a real distinction: it meant that its holder had a knowledge of Latin. Whereupon the more gentle and placid Wallace Sabine, Dean of the Lawrence Scientific School, replied: "Yes, but the degree of Bachelor of Science means that its holder knows something besides Latin!" There is no question about Pease's knowledge of Latin. Similarly he has fully demonstrated his great ability in and unlimited devotion to the science of which he has made a lifelong hobby. The old degree of Bachelor of Science would be too meagre a reward for all he has done and is doing in the science which so fully shares his interest with his "knowledge of Latin."

NOTES

1. Although Pease, at least ever since I knew him, has been a master of paronomasia, never missing an opportunity to divert his botanical companions, he was not the first to bring such practices into the botanical field. When the New England Botanical Club started its journal in 1898 the editorial board sought for the generic name of some familiar plant of the region, short enough to be cited without abbreviation. The shortest such generic name proved to be that of the yew or ground-hemlock, *Taxus*; but the treasurer immediately protested that such a name, in bold-face type, appearing every month on the desk, would rapidly decrease the subscription-list. He won.

2. *Proc. Bost. Soc. Nat. Hist.* xxxix. no. 3, pp. 39-388, pl. 5-11 (1924).

3. Fernald, "Incidents of Field-work," with J. Franklin Collins, *Contrib. Gray Herbarium of Harvard Univ.* cxl; *Rhodora*, xlv (1942), 98-152, with many plates. See esp. pp. 105-110.

4. A detailed account of the topography and exploration of this little-known area was published by Collins and Fernald as "The Region of Mount Logan, Gaspé Peninsula" in *The Geographical Review* xv (1925), 84-91 and some passages from that account will later be quoted.

THE SPOKEN AND THE WRITTEN WORD

BY WILLIAM CHASE GREENE

IN a famous passage of the *Phaedrus* (274c-277a), Socrates is represented as being suspicious of the art of writing. Though it is supposed to be a help to the memory, actually it leads to forgetfulness, since it encourages one to rely on written characters instead of the memory. Moreover, the written word is not really intelligible or certain, nor is it better than knowledge and recollection of its subject matter; for, like a painting, a writing cannot answer questions, but gives one unvarying answer; it is helpless, at the mercy of circumstances and possible misunderstanding, without a parent to protect it. Better is the word that is written with understanding in the soul of the learner, that can defend itself, and that knows when to speak and when to be silent. This word is alive; the written word is only its image. The man of sense would therefore not wish, unless in sport, to plant precious seeds in any quickly sprouting "Garden of Adonis," but rather would plant deep in a fitting soil; he would not "write in water," or sow in the garden of letters, save for amusement, what may serve as reminders for the elderly. Best is the pursuit of the dialectician who plants fruitful words in a fitting soul.

Such is the substance of the passage, playful in tone, and not wholly inconsistent with the earlier passage (257d-258d) which has established the point that not writing, but bad writing, is a disgrace; for a chief purpose of the whole dialogue is to contrast superficial rhetoric with the true rhetoric which issues from the dialectical discovery of truth. Yet the present passage does appear to prefer the spoken to the written word, the give and take of the Socratic (or, may we say, the "tutorial") method to the set lecture. It prefers instruction given *viva voce* with opportunity for criticism and repartee, even if the result be retarded or inconclusive. It seems to disparage the work of art as such, on the ground that it is helpless, "dead" from the very moment of its birth, incapable of responding to new audiences, unlike the living impression growing in the soul of the hearer. "Scripsi," writes the author, and the perfect tense confesses that his arrow once released is beyond direction or recall. He is the priest of the letter that killeth, not the prophet of the spirit that giveth life. Moreover, this disparagement of the written word is not aimed espe-

cially at the poets; and Plato's criticism of them elsewhere is on other grounds. The disparagement is quite general; it arises from the consideration of written speeches, but is directed against all verbal works of art that are not free to adapt themselves to the needs of the occasion. What Socrates does not say, but what is nevertheless true, is that the written word at its best seeks to convey an illusion of the spontaneity of the spoken word, but with such perfection of form as the unpremeditated speech seldom achieves; and conversely that the spoken word, in the age of writing, aims at the considered structure of the written word, but without abandoning its own sense of immediacy and responsiveness to social use.

Yet the fact confronts us that Plato, the critic of the written word, wrote and in some sense "published" the *Phaedrus*. Did he include the depreciation of the written word inadvertently, or tongue in cheek? I shall return to Plato presently, after examining the background of the problem. Here it is sufficient to note that the remarks of Socrates are directed to the relation of writing to memory and to truth, and in particular to the inertness of a work of art. But the more general questions that I wish to raise in this exploratory study are these: when, and why, did the Greeks write rather than speak? For whom did they write, or publish: an individual, a group, or the general public? What effect on their works did their spoken or their written nature have? How were they influenced by their public? Some of these questions admit of only conjectural answers; and most of them can be answered here only tentatively and in the briefest outline, in the hope that others will develop the subject more fully. It will be seen that I refrain from any new discussion of the date when writing was introduced into Greece, and of *Buchwesen* and ancient libraries; these matters are well discussed elsewhere.¹

II

The habitual use of writing in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Crete, long before Greek "literature" began, may now be accepted as fact. That the Greeks, too, also wrote at least as early as the eighth century B.C. is rather generally agreed.² But the occasional graffito on pottery or on a statue, and the utilitarian use of inscriptions for records, as reminders (*ὑπομνήματα*, *aides-mémoire*), or even the reduction to writing and the circulation of Delphic oracles,³ do not of themselves prove that writing was used in the recording, still less in the composition, of literature. Indeed even in the classical period written laws were regarded as inferior to "unwritten laws,"

not merely by the *Antigone* of Sophocles and by Thucydides in the Funeral Oration of Pericles but by ordinary men.⁴ But it has been held that the Homeric poems, though composed for oral recitation, must have been written down at least for the use of the rhapsodes, and that writing may possibly have been used in the composition of the poems.⁵ More recently the trend has been toward the recognition not merely of oral recitation but of oral composition of the poems. It was the notable contribution of the late Milman Parry to call attention⁶ to the repetitions of epithets and formulas and lines in the poems, and to explain them as providing evidence of a long series of bards employing traditional phrases which were useful in keeping up the movement of the verse as they improvised for their hearers on a well-known theme. Parry admitted⁷ the possibility of "a limited use of writing for literary purposes, which is the most one can suppose for Homer's age"; and added later⁸ that

the problem is not at all that of whether or not writing was known in the Homeric age, but of knowing whether the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were written. . . All that we can hope to know, and all that we really need to know, is whether Homer's style is written or oral. Once this question is proposed, that of the existence, or even of the uses of writing in Homer's time loses its value.

He therefore shows the difference between the use of the formula (including the somewhat different matter, the repeated expression) in Homer and the relatively infrequent use outside Homer,⁹ and concludes that "the vast difference between the style of Homer and that of poetry which we know was written" is that "the formula itself must be a thing of sound and not of sight," and that "the technique of the formulas is one which could only be created and used by oral poets."¹⁰ He found confirmation of this explanation in the actual practice of the singers whose songs he gathered in Jugoslavia.¹¹

Now one may feel gratitude to Parry, as I do, for the illumination which his researches threw on the probable method of composition of the Homeric poems; yet one may at the same time feel that he proved both too much and too little. The epithets and formulas and repeated lines or phrases that puzzle the modern reader when he first reads Homer become intelligible when they are understood to be the means by which an oral poet, working within a tradition, gives a rapid flow to his verse. They are not merely "useful," the "easy" way of meeting difficulties; they meet his "complete need."¹² Moreover, Parry has made a most significant point in stressing the fact

that the oral poet, whose memory serves him as he finds the appropriate phrase for his need, works not by the eye, copying what he sees in the repertory of written texts, but by the ear. "There is no memory of words save by the voice and the ear; . . . there is no real memory without sound. . . . The poet who is repeating his own phrase, or that of another, is doing so by ear."¹³ This is a psychological fact, amply attested by experience; one may add that this is the reason why verse is so much easier to remember than prose, and why mnemonic devices (such as lists of the kings and queens of England) are cast in verse. Mnemosyne, not without cause, was the mother of the Muses. Yet, as I shall suggest presently, she has a larger role, assisting not merely in filling a metrical line but in moulding the whole form and content of literature and the arts. Finally, Parry, like his predecessors, has done well to recognize the long process that preceded the composition of the Homeric poems. No one man created the oral, traditional style, or more than an occasional formula,¹⁴ any more than he could have created the artificial, eclectic language of the poems.¹⁵

So much one may accept, and it is much. In fact, it is too much, if it is offered as an explanation of many of the minor features of the poems; but it is not enough if it is supposed to explain the greatness of the poems. If only Parry had been spared to build on the foundations of his early studies a rounded consideration of Homer's art and view of life! For these are what now need to be explored anew in the light of his discoveries. I shall attempt here to indicate only a few of the questions that my special inquiry makes necessary. Even from the point of view of style it appears that oral composition is only one of several factors. Bassett observed that Parry used the repetitions "for a new theory of Homeric style, but contributed nothing to its evaluation."¹⁶ He called attention to three points established by Calhoun which give "a positive value to Parry's work": "(1) the element of pleasure in the familiar,¹⁷ (2) the countless variations with which the larger formulae are used, (3) the probability that Homer selected his formulae with far more reference to their immediate context than scholars have recognized." I shall not discuss the first two points; but the third will lead to other matters. Parry found few of Homer's repeated expressions to be in themselves particularly effective; rather "the fixed epithet in Homer is purely ornamental," and the formula "has found its place in the even level of this perfect narrative style."¹⁸ Calhoun was rather more concerned with larger elements, and showed that "the poet composes in lines

and even in longer formulas as readily as in words, and chooses according to his mood and his artistic purpose, but otherwise with entire freedom, from all that the epic tradition has produced and accumulated." ¹⁹ Elsewhere he illustrated the skill with which the poet chose the right formula not merely with an ear for metrical convenience but with an appreciation of the special thought or feeling of the context, notably in the use of the phrase "winged words," no colorless tag but a device for drawing attention to emotional situations and reactions. ²⁰

We are now approaching the question of the "originality" of Homer, waiving the question whether his hearers would necessarily have deemed it to be a merit for a poet to be "original." What differentiates him from his countless forerunners who developed the formulas and the technique of oral composition? That he need not have created many, or indeed any, new formulas, we may readily grant. ²¹ Nor need he, indeed he could not, have created the style. Parry went so far as to say that "the question of a remnant of individuality in Homeric style disappears altogether," ²² and that Homer

can put into verse only those ideas which are to be found in the phrases which are on his tongue, or at the most he will express ideas so like those of the traditional formulas that he himself would not know them apart. At no time is he seeking words for an idea which has never before found expression, so that the question of originality in style means nothing to him. ²³

But if it is not originality in style that should be sought in Homer, does the style itself preclude, as Parry seems to have held, originality in "ideas"? What makes one poet, working within the tradition of oral composition, "better" than another? Simply, Parry argued, the fact that he has been able to "make a better use of tradition"; he does not rely merely on memory, repeating *verbatim* what he or another poet has sung before, but improvises on an old theme, using old materials, but presumably somehow in a new way, and this is the extent of his originality; this, in fact, is what Homer means when he says that men always prize the song most that rings newest in their ears. ²⁴ And for confirmation of this meager conception of authorship and of the relation of originality to tradition Parry looked to the practice of other oral poetries, ²⁵ though he also believed that the years of the first making of the epic diction "were also those of its least perfection," ²⁶ which at least leaves open the possibility of progress and the final emergence of a supreme singer. Calhoun went

further; finding no lack of originality in poetry that is rich in formulas and repeated lines, he wrote:

All who find in the poems the handiwork of a very great artist will allow that this artist's part in the creation, the adaptation, and the polishing of the epic formulas must have been in some measure commensurate with his greatness, though we cannot say definitely that a particular formula is his original creation. . . . We have gradually learned that in every part of the text is traditional material that can only be the collective work of ages and in every part are touches that can only be from the hand of a great master. We are beginning to suspect that the two cannot be neatly separated. The facts seem to admit the hypothesis of a supremely great poet, working with traditional material, who left the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* substantially in the form in which we have them. Shall we strain at this, after we have been compelled to admit a long line of poets capable of evolving traditional material of this beauty and perfection, and successive generations of hearers who demanded such beauty, appreciated it, and stimulated the poets? ²⁷

What is needed, I think, is a broader conception of the role of "memory," "originality," "ideas." Memory is indeed the mother of the Muse who reminds the poet of the right formula; but it is she also who is the memory of the race, preserving myths and traditions and proverbs, heroic legends and characters, religious rites and folkways. In the age of the spoken word, far more than in the age of written literature, Mnemosyne and her daughter provide the poet with "inspiration"; without them he is powerless, as the epic poet is the first to proclaim.²⁸

But such memory is only the beginning. What differentiates the great poet, the Homer as we must for convenience call him, from his predecessors, is the way in which he orders his "remembered" material, and the vision of life that he expresses, his "ideas": these constitute his real "originality." *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*, and doubtless singers without number had sung of Troy before "Homer"; what caused their songs to be forgotten and "Homer's" to be remembered was not that theirs were at the mercy of men's forgetfulness and his were written, but simply that his were the best. The great poet immortalizes both his hero and his world and himself, as many a poet has observed.²⁹ How Homer ordered his material is a large question, which I need not investigate here; it has been amply studied, and should be further studied in the light of the oral composition of the poems.³⁰ But what should be stressed here is the extraordinary coherence (not absolute consistency, of course) of

the Homeric poems. Leaving to one side minor questions of text tradition in classical and Alexandrine times, of recension and interpolation (matters now to be considered very cautiously and with less suspicion of "repeated lines"), what must impress us is the architectonic quality of the poems, the sheer art of the compositions in the large: the concentration of the themes and the action, the creation of characters, the launching of the story, the alternating episodes, the suspense, the rise of emotional intensity and the tapering off at the end. Could a series of minor poets have culminated in the production of such poems without a final single master (or two masters, if that be required)? Would not lesser singers, provided with a skeleton story, a traditional diction, and a formulaic technique, have produced a mere cento of remembered phrases, without the closely knit unity and the controlled pace of the poems that we have? And if it is still claimed that such an achievement is not beyond the grasp of improvising minstrels, there is yet another marvel to contemplate. Above and beyond the structure of the poems, yet penetrating every part as spirit gives life to body, there is the Homeric view of life: the regard for honor, the glory in the present world, the sense of pathos and tragedy, the moral feeling, the feeling of man's helplessness before the gods, — in a word, Homer's "ideas." These, at any rate, cannot be improvised, however much they may arise from long brooding over what Mnemosyne, the mind of the race, has given.^{30a}

I am not disputing the traditional character of much in the process that Homer must have accepted and used, language and style and themes. I willingly acknowledge that the repeated use of the same story by a succession of poets may be not a handicap but an advantage; Greek tragedy and Elizabethan tragedy overcame that difficulty, if it was a difficulty. Actually there may be an eager anticipation by the audience of a familiar theme, whether it is handled in a new fashion by a new poet or whether it is the very same play or story or piece of music that is presented again; only, in the latter case, it must be of superlative excellence to be gladly accepted.³¹

I am not denying that the heroic songs that preceded the Homeric poems, like other unwritten heroic songs, must have been quite fluid, varying from recitation to recitation through the exigencies of the oral technique, or in response to varying occasions or demands on the part of audiences; but their demands, one may assume, were conservative, approving on the whole the familiar rather than startling innovations.³² To this extent the songs, still at the stage of the

spoken word, were not "dead, helpless, inert," to use words suggested by the Socrates of the *Phaedrus*, but were responsive to the audience, to their "criticism" if this word may be given an inclusive meaning. The singer could see the faces of his hearers and detect "enchantment" or doubt or dismay at this or that point in his singing, and the next recitation might be moulded in part by their attitudes.³³ But the greater the work of art the less it need adapt itself to fluctuating demands and audiences: *Hamlet* is all things to all men, but has its different appeal to the pit and to the gentlemen in the boxes and to the modern reader. But *Hamlet*, it will be urged, has belonged to written literature, at least since the second quarto. Let us not be too hasty: *Hamlet*, though written for the actors, and later printed, was composed for the stage, for oral presentation, and only incidentally for readers. And it may well be asked what is "the real *Hamlet*," — the play as first presented in the Globe Theatre, or in which modern revival? in the first editions, or in what modern text, or in which modern interpretation? Or should we presume to say that "the real *Hamlet*" is what Shakspeare had in mind but never quite succeeded in expressing, and which all stage productions and readers' interpretations still less have been able to encompass: in other words, that "the real *Hamlet*" is Shakspeare's intention, and his total experience in composing the play? But if so, we shall never know it; for if others, meeting the demand of Socrates for the spoken word, "bide our question," he is "still," and we shall never fathom his intention and his experience save in the written and the acted *Hamlet*. Still less shall we find "the real *Hamlet*" in any composite of experiences of all readers. So the text of *Hamlet* remains as our sole fixed point of reference.³⁴

If *Hamlet* and Shakspeare evade us in spite of all that we know of the Elizabethan period, how much more difficult it must be for us to know "the real Homeric poems" and "the real *Homer*"! Yet here again our sole fixed point of reference is the text of the poems, with their clear marks both of a background of oral composition and of supreme organization and insight on the part of the poet. What are we entitled to suppose about the way in which the poet (or poets, for I am not here concerned to argue the issue), building on the work of his predecessors, created the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in approximately their present form? I can hardly suppose him, working with traditional materials, and with some eye to his audience, not to have made a limited use of writing, at least as notes (*hypomnemata*) to record the outlines and the structure of the poems as he

had previously sung them. There would be time, over the years, for rehandling and adaptation, for addition or omission, till the poems approximated his matured intention. Without some such written records I cannot imagine him to have held in his memory the complex structure and the unified outlook that he achieved; and this in spite of all that we know of persons who have performed feats of memorization of written texts,³⁵ and of poets and musicians who have composed large portions of their works in their minds before putting pen to paper.³⁶ Even Parry admitted that Homer could have composed orally and then written down the poems;³⁷ it is a lesser assumption to suppose that the poet used writing, as notes or outlines, in the process of composition, while planning the poems; then writing would be used again to record the finished poems, for the rhapsodes and for those few of the public who bothered to read. Only the greatest works, such as the Homeric poems and some of Shakspeare's plays, will stand the test of repeated hearings; this fact, I think, points to such scrupulous planning of structure and such revision of detail as can be best explained on the assumption of some use of writing in the process.

Anonymous oral versifiers (*aoidoi*), Homer, the "Homeridae," or rhapsodes, reciting in competition and acting as "publishers" and editors (thus resisting interpolation and corruption), and finally the controlled rhapsodes at Athens in the sixth century and the editors at Alexandria in the third and second centuries: such was the succession of persons whose activities bridged the transition from the spoken to the written Homer.³⁸

III

It may be well to remark at this point that there are certain well-marked traits of Greek style which might seem at first glance to be characteristic either of the spoken or of the written word. Formulaic repetition, we have seen, belongs to oral composition. But anaphora is at least as common in developed written literature as in early spoken composition, perhaps more common. Antithesis and other "Gorgianic" figures, on the other hand, though often regarded as a sudden and novel invasion to be dated in 427 B.C., really meet us in Homer and the elegiac poets and in the drama of the mid-fifth century. They really belong to a more general Greek tendency to distinguish opposites, to "polarity in thinking." The same may be said of the fondness for gnomic utterance and the incorporation of proverbs, even if it is sometimes possible to pin down the first use

of a given *paroimia* to a given occasion and to name the author. It may be granted that earlier Greek thought tends to be cast in the form of concrete images and that later written literature more freely admits conceptual abstractions; yet abstractions do appear, if rarely, in Homer, and decidedly in Hesiod, and increasingly in the elegiac and philosophic and dramatic poets, as later in prose, while poetry always continues to employ concrete images and symbols and myths as its special means of arousing emotion and understanding. If paratactic sentence structure and the *lexis eiromene* is the mark of early style, and hypotactic structure and the period belong on the whole to more developed style (in fact, to Thrasyarchus, — a speaker, by the way), still there is no hard and fast dividing line between them corresponding to that between the spoken and the written word. Even anacolouthon, which the careless might suppose to be the earmark of primitive composition, frequently confronts us in such a late and finished writer as Plato. None of these traits, then, will serve to help us very much as we seek to distinguish the features of spoken and of written literature.

The Homeric Hymns, most of which fall in the period from the eighth to the sixth centuries, represent the last stage in the same tradition of oral composition as do the Homeric poems, or "the end of the genuine epic period."³⁹ Their abundant formulaic repetitions may point at times to their having been composed by other singers of the same period which saw the flowering of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and by the same process; thus the Hymn to Aphrodite, *ἑμμερικώτατος* in diction, is one of the most ancient.⁴⁰ At other times the repeated phrases may indicate, as in the elegiac and later poets, that the composers of the Hymns are already borrowing from the Homeric poems, for ornament and special effect. In either case, they are still creating in the old manner, like Demodocus singing of Ares and Aphrodite,⁴¹ but for a new purpose, a religious festival; for few if any of them can have been "preludes" to a rhapsodic recitation of Homer. Even the Hymn to Apollo, credibly assigned to Cynaethus, is the work of "a singer, and no reciter; he is singing . . . at a moment when the tradition of epic poetry was still that of creation and not of recitation."⁴² If we would hear his own testimony, we may take lines 165–176 of the Hymn, about "the blind Chian," to refer not to Homer but to himself. Here is the beginning of the pride of authorship. But Cynaethus would seem also to have known the Hesiodic *Theogony*, and to have borrowed from it, presumably from a written copy rather than from memory of an oral recitation. And,

to come down to a slightly later period, the Hymn to Demeter (latter half of the seventh century) still shows the same technique, now devoted to aetiological myth.

Hesiod, the shepherd of Ascra, whom the Muses called to become an *aoidos* and endowed with the rhapsode's staff,⁴³ speaks as an individual to men of his own time about matters that concern them personally and that grow out of his own experience: country life, the need (and the ultimate blessing) of toil, and justice. He also seeks to reduce to sequence and order the religious and moral traditions that they have inherited. As *aoidos* he has only one conception of the function of song: to bring pleasure and relief to the troubled hearts of men by the hymning of divine and human glories.⁴⁴ It is no wonder, then, that he accepts the Homeric style and diction and formulas and bits of heroic saga, more freely in the *Theogony* than in the *Works and Days*. But he also steps out of the role of the *aoidos* to become a moral leader, a personal poet with a message, the Muses' spokesman of truth.⁴⁵ Yet this didactic prophet points his teaching with folk myths (Prometheus, the Ages, the Hawk and the Nightingale), and glorifies common life by echoes of heroic verse. But this does not prove that his poems are still the product of oral improvisation. Doubtless the spoken word of the *lesche*, gossip and tale and proverb, was still the chief means of communication of his contemporaries; but the intricate pattern of the *Theogony* and the steady march of ideas of the *Works and Days* must have required at least *hypomnemata* in the process of composition, and must have been reduced to writing as soon as they were finished. For their first audiences, of course, recitation was doubtless the only method of "publication"; but for Cynaethus to know them in Chios⁴⁶ it is natural to assume the circulation of papyrus rolls, — in fact more natural than to infer from the Boeotian elements in the Pythian portion of the Hymn to Apollo that Cynaethus went to Delphi. What, then, was Hesiod's first audience? For the *Theogony*, not a bookish group of hearers, perhaps, but a more than commonly serious band of persons. For the *Works and Days*, it is ostensibly Perses, then the "kings" and Perses alternately; but we never learn how the lawsuit came out, and the last part of the poem is evidently aimed at a quite general public. Clearly Perses and the lawsuit are merely the convenient individual and the dramatic moment, the pegs on which the poet hangs his thought; and we have here the first of the long series of protreptic works⁴⁷ addressed to an individual, but intended for the general public, to which we are accustomed; Theognis, satire generally, Lucretius,

the *Georgics*, the protreptic odes of Horace, the modern "Open Letter to the Editor" of a journal, will serve as a few examples.

The elegy and the lyric, still more than the Hesiodic poems, express the thought and feeling of individuals, and are directed to special, rather select, audiences, and sometimes through them to a more general public. The elegy, in fact, despite many variations of theme and style, is always distinguished by being addressed to an individual or group.⁴⁸ Thus Tyrtaeus addresses the Spartans, Solon the Athenians, Archilochus his friend Pericles, Theognis the young Cyrnus, and so forth. But the elegy preserves the epic tradition, particularly when, as in Callinus and Tyrtaeus and Archilochus, the theme is martial. Epic diction, Homeric reminiscences, naturally abound; they fit the occasion as well as the metre, and serve as ornament. This is not necessarily a sign of oral composition; it is frank borrowing from the familiar sources; and κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων. Therefore it is not plagiarism, since everyone knew the sources, and would be gratified, rather than feel disapproval, at recognizing the new use of old material.⁴⁹ Moreover, one elegist will borrow from another, as Theognis from Tyrtaeus and Mimnermus and Solon, either without change, or with a deliberate twisting of the passage or its meaning (*paradiorthosis*); and other poems by other poets were added to the book of Theognis.⁵⁰ Nor is this the full extent to which an elegist, or a lyric poet, will call attention to his differences of opinion with fellow poets. Archilochus, boasting of the loss of his shield (frag. 6 Diehl), challenges the code of the Homeric (and the Spartan) warrior; Solon, praying for eighty years of life (frag. 22), retorts to the prayer of Mimnermus for but sixty years (frag. 6); Xenophanes rebukes Homer and Hesiod for the immorality of their myths (frags. 10; 1); Simonides criticizes the ethical ideals of Pittacus (frag. 4); Pindar rejects unworthy myths (*Ol.* 1, 28f; 52; IX 35-39); as Aeschylus will reject unworthy sayings.⁵¹ All this implies not only that the poets of the seventh and sixth centuries, like those of the fifth century, have constant access to the poems of their predecessors, but that their audiences are likewise familiar with them and will be quick to recognize allusions to earlier views and corrections of them. This need not yet mean a large reading public, or the circulation of works in many manuscripts; most Greeks of this period must still have learned their Homer through hearing oral recitations, and have made their acquaintance with elegy in the same way, sometimes at aristocratic symposia, where elegies were sung to the flute. When Solon strives to rouse the Athenians to conquer Salamis, and represents

himself as coming "as a herald, with a song instead of a speech" (frag. 2), he is dramatizing the situation, as if he were a Homeric warrior instead of the citizen of a *polis*. Yet he may have recited these verses, and many others of his political admonitions. But written books there must have been, which preserved, however precariously, the texts of such poems as have survived intact or in fragments, and doubtless others that have perished. We learn from Herodotus that there were schools in Chios in the time of Histiaeus (c. 500) where boys "learned their letters"; there, and in the Athenian schools of the early fifth century, Homer and the elegists and the lyric and dramatic poets were memorized, largely from written texts.⁵² The Greeks in at least the latter half of the fifth century were literate, in the sense that they could read and write in case of need (the "unlettered and quite rustic" Athenian who begged Aristides to inscribe an *ostrakon* for him with the name of Aristides⁵³ may have been an exceptional case); but that does not mean that they read habitually.

One phenomenon of this period must strike us as new: the pride of authorship and of literary proprietorship. As long as oral composition persisted, there was little opportunity for a poet to claim his right in his work. Homer had associated the Homeric minstrels, Phemius and Demodocus, with their songs; the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were accepted as Homer's; various cyclic poems were ascribed to definite poets, the Homeric Hymn to Apollo to Cynaethus, and various poems to Hesiod. But no poet's name is embedded in any of these, except in the reference to Hesiod in the *Theogony* (22); in fact, "title pages" were supplied by later editors, as is implied by the way in which fragments have been preserved for us with the names of the poets. What takes the place of a title page in a few cases is the "seal" (*sphragis*): the name of Cynus embedded here and there in the work of Theognis, the name of Phocylides woven into his own verses as a safeguard against pilfering. The historians in their turn were to "sign" their works by writing the first sentence in the form of a title page: thus Hecataeus, Herodotus, and Thucydides.⁵⁴ This almost fierce concern to assert the personal authorship and ownership of compositions, in an age before copyright and royalties existed and when even literary patronage was only beginning, testifies both to the individualism of the age and to the extent to which authors and public were becoming familiar with existing works; one might add, the extent to which authors were tempted to appropriate, to plagiarize, or to forge. Their compositions were their children, as it were, their immortality; ⁵⁵ and nothing excites a stronger

pride of ownership and a greater jealousy of alien exploitation than one's children.

Though the elegy was sometimes sung (or recited) to the music of the flute, it did not depend for its effect nearly so much on the music as did the lyric, and therefore circulated readily both by oral tradition and by written manuscript. But the lyric, in which words and music were wedded, lost much when reduced to writing unaccompanied by musical notation or by the actual sound of the music. For the disappearance of so much of the lyric there are many other reasons: the probable failure of the earlier singers, such as Arion and Terpander, to record their songs in writing; the unsuitability of some of the more personal lyrics for public performance, so that only a few written copies were called for; changes in taste; the lack of interest in lyric poetry in late antiquity. One would give much to know under what exact conditions Sappho and Pindar actually first composed, then gave forth, and finally collected or "published" their poems. Sappho's songs, with their delightful echoes both of folk song (107, 114, 116, 117) and of Homeric saga (55a,c), the revelations of personal experience and feeling blended with the expressions of her special calling (1, 2, 27a, 96, 98), are no artless improvisations, despite their spontaneity and easy flow, but the last word in conscious art. One may surmise that she used *hypomnemata* as she fitted phrase to metre and to musical intervals, that she herself actually sang her own songs to the lyre for an intimate gathering, and circulated written copies of single songs within the group, or sent them to absent friends, and that she collected her songs in their several "books" as they were later known. Pindar moves with an easy assurance among his aristocratic patrons, and appears to develop in impromptu style the ideas and myths and symbols by which he glorified their achievements or warned them against presumption. But this studied appearance is deceptive. The artificial and eclectic dialect, the articulation of detail, the architecture of the whole pattern, above all the elaborate metrical scheme: these point as much to the Matinian bee as to the Theban eagle-flight. I remember that Milman Parry once asked me whether I supposed that Pindar "wrote" his poems; evidently he was brooding on the whole subject of oral and written poetry. I was startled by the question, but replied then, as I should reply now, that I could not conceive of such poems as having been composed without the use of writing. As to "publication" of the *epinikia*, one may suppose that Pindar's patrons would have been glad enough to assist in the circulation of single poems; and "collected editions"

would soon follow, though an organized book trade probably did not exist till a generation or two later. When it came, the convention of the lyric poet as "singer" still persisted; but one does not imagine Catullus or Horace or Milton to have "sung" their lyrics. The nearest parallel to the Greek singing poet is perhaps the Tudor gentleman singing madrigals of an evening; but his songs were only occasionally his own.

IV

Greek drama was composed for the theatre, and not for readers; it was intended to be seen and heard and felt instantly by an audience with many common bonds of experience and with the psychological reactions of groups seated together and not of isolated readers pondering at leisure. Ritual and social origins, the linking of familiar epic themes with the patterns of the choral lyric, and the setting of the dramatic festival and competition, all conspired to emphasize the social and the immediate character of the plays. Even the simulation of persons and their conversations, in *rhexis* and *stichomythy*, never achieved complete realism, but lingered in the realm of stylized forms which were accepted as the vehicles of a shared experience. Because the themes of the plays were familiar, and their ends foreseen, and the general burden of the choral songs expressed what all Greeks must feel or believe (often including gnomic sayings and proverbs), they represent to a large extent the common fund of knowledge and attitude of the audience, a sort of "majority report" of Greek thought, or even what normal men in all times and places have approved.⁵⁶

But this statement oversimplifies the case. Greek drama, for all its conservatism, did develop. Poets led, as well as followed, their publics; they saw problems, of moral responsibility and guilt, of innocent suffering, of conflicting goods, of changing standards of honor and heroism and social utility, of the relation of man to man, of man to the *polis*, of man to the gods, of freedom and fate. Thus they presented the tensions of life in dramatic form, and their audiences cannot always have been of one mind about every incident or saying or denouement. Sometimes they presented a minority report. Aeschylus tacitly or explicitly corrected traditional myths, social ideals, or time-honored sayings; ⁵⁷ Euripides was frequently tendentious, and achieved real popularity only after his death. And all the dramatic poets, comic as well as tragic, were inevitably critics of their predecessors and contemporaries; they rehandled plots or scenes, recast characters, developed new moral or religious or ironical implica-

tions.⁵⁸ We know in many cases how their plays were ranked in competitions; but it is impossible for us to do more than speculate why this or that play fared as it did, whether artistic form or content or some adventitious factor determined the result. But at least we may say that drama was alive, and far from "helpless" or "inert," and was not lacking in responsiveness to the attitudes of the public.

If I am right in holding that epic and lyric, as we have them, could not have been composed without some use of writing, it would seem even more necessary to hold that the dramatists wrote down their plays; the least that we may suppose is the author's private copy, and some sort of copies for the actors. These copies were particularly susceptible to alterations and interpolations, till Lycurgus in 330 B.C. attempted to have official texts of the three great tragedians standardized. Whether the reading of plays was at all general even toward the end of the fifth century may be doubted. Members of the Athenian audiences that had seen one play might remember enough to appreciate a subsequent rehandling of the same myth, or an actual allusion to it, or tacit criticism of it; revivals of the tragedies in Athens were rare until comparatively late. Aristophanes could count on his audiences (presumably the same Athenians who also heard the tragedies) catching the point of his travesties of tragedy; was this a compliment to their memories, or does it argue access to manuscripts?⁵⁹ To be sure it was accounted a peculiarity of Euripides that he had a library, and we cannot assume that the man in the street would have been anything like as well provided. One circumstance, however, may cause us to believe that there was now a demand for books: the fact that not all residents of Attica, and still more obviously few Greeks of other parts of Greece, could witness a given play. "The enthusiasm for Attic tragedy created a reading public," writes Hall, and adds that this demand encouraged the growth of an organized book trade in Athens toward the end of the fifth century; a by-product was reading of other kinds of literature for pleasure.⁶⁰ D. L. Page goes further:

The texts of the tragedians in the fifth century were the first books in Hellas. *Ῥητορικά* were made by rhapsodes much earlier; but these Reminders could very well exist without publishers, booksellers, and a reading public. In the fifth century the playwrights created a new problem; for each tragedy was designed for a single exhibition, and the spectator who wished to be further acquainted with a play must read it in a written text.⁶¹

We should add that if a Greek who lived outside of Attica wished to know the play at all, he must read it in a written text, at least during a considerable period, since plays that were successful in Athens did not "go on the road" outside of the Attic demes till much later. But that books were not widely scattered at first is suggested by the story that those Athenian prisoners at Syracuse won special favor who could recite Euripides to their captors.⁶² Quotations from drama in Plato and other prose writers of the fourth century show that by this time, at any rate, written texts must have been common.

V

The earliest Greek written prose consisted of records, quite literally *hypomnemata*, with no pretensions to literary art.⁶³ These were archives: lists of priests and magistrates and athletic victors, legal codes and treaties; oracles and sayings of *sophoi*, recorded chiefly by inscriptions. Curiosity about the world in the age of colonization led to the speculations of the early *physiologoi* (Thales and his successors) and to the inquiries of the *logopoioi* or *logographoi* (annalists, writers of books of travel, genealogists and mythologists). There is much looseness in the use of terms. All writers of prose are in a sense *logographoi*, as distinguished from the poets; and *logos* ("what is said") covers any kind of prose, whether it be an oral tale, or a written account (for example, a section of the work of Herodotus), or a speech.⁶⁴ (With the many other meanings of *logos* we are not here concerned.) But conversely an inquiry (the Ionian *ιστορίη*) may result in "history" (as in the first sentence of Herodotus), or may serve as the Ionian equivalent of *philosophia*.⁶⁵ Titles hardly existed for these early works; we know them by titles supplied by later editors.

The earliest Greek philosophers are preserved for us only by the doxographic tradition. It is natural enough to suppose, in view of what we are told of the relations of the Milesians as "master" and "pupil" or as "associates," that their thought was at first transmitted by oral delivery and memory, though the supposition does not preclude the use of *hypomnemata*. That Thales wrote any book is more than doubtful; ⁶⁶ that Anaximander was the writer of the first Greek prose book, and that he was therefore the first philosopher who addressed a general public, is now the generally accepted opinion; ⁶⁷ and he is credited with the first map.⁶⁸ Why Xenophanes cast his philosophical speculations in verse is no difficult question; he was already an elegiac poet and a sillographer and a writer of hexameters, so that when he undertook to discuss philosophic themes he naturally

continued to use the vehicle of verse. We may think of him as reciting his poems; and it is quite likely that Pindar, who may have met him in Syracuse in 472 B.C., is answering in the first *Olympian* the strictures of Xenophanes both on poetry and on athletics.⁶⁹ The use of verse for philosophic exposition was continued by Parmenides, with some kinship of thought though not of profession or of style, and by the more poetically gifted Empedocles; the fragments of their poems bear the marks of written composition; certainly they labored to make them works of art. But meanwhile, about a generation earlier than Parmenides, Heraclitus had composed, and I think written down, his deliberately oracular apophthegms. For the writing, some confirmation may be found if we accept parts of Parmenides (for example, fr. 6 Diels) as polemic against Heraclitus (for example, frags. 51 and 60 Diels), something hard to explain if a text had not traveled from Ephesus to Elea (or at least to Athens).⁷⁰ The prose "book" of Anaxagoras is one of the best attested of ancient documents; Socrates had read it in his youth,⁷¹ and it was sometimes on sale "in the orchestra" for one drachma at the time of the trial of Socrates.⁷² This implies a considerable vogue, since Anaxagoras had been exiled, as an associate of Pericles, probably shortly before the Peloponnesian War. In fact, the publication of his book may have given him an unfortunate notoriety, greater than would have attached to one who had committed himself only by the spoken word; yet Democritus, about a generation younger than Anaxagoras, and a prolific writer, whose thought was at least as open to the charge of impiety, visited Athens and was able to declare: "I came to Athens, but no one knew me." Perhaps the safest inference is merely that written texts circulated in the late fifth century only within narrow limits; and if the writings of Heraclitus reached Elea, as was suggested above,⁷³ that was rather exceptional.

The art of speaking, and presently of writing, in prose, was developed by Sicilian *rhetoires*; the first handbook of instruction, or *Techne*, in the art was that of Corax, or of his pupil Tisias; they may be regarded as the founders of *Kunstprosa*. The effect of the rhetores and the sophists on prose oratory, hitherto a spontaneous though dignified mode of speech, was to give it a structure and diction and at times a rhythm and use of figures no less self-conscious than those which poetry had long controlled. Gorgias and his successors, in fact, deliberately affected the color of poetry, and Greek literary criticism freely passes back and forth between prose and verse. Hesychius of Miletus, followed by Suidas, says that "whereas earlier orators had

improvised, Pericles was the first to deliver in court a written speech." Yet in oratory there was still usually the semblance of the impromptu speech, even when all was planned and written down and memorized. Thucydides, writing when the sophistic influence was strong, reports as the Funeral Oration of Pericles a speech which is anything but impromptu in its thought and expression; yet it begins and ends with an apparently artless bit of informality and self-deprecation such as the most finished speakers well know to be the best means of avoiding an impression of stiffness. Another famous instance of the simulated impromptu is the "recte admones" episode of Cicero's second *Actio in Verrem* (IV 3), which we know to have been written but never spoken. Actual extemporaneous speaking by Greeks and Romans must have been rather common, probably more common than we have supposed.⁷⁴

The sophists were paid for their lectures, but not for their writings; the professional speech writers (*logographoi*) were paid for the speeches which they prepared for their clients to memorize and deliver; these, and the money paid by the state to dramatic poets, and the fees paid to court poets by their patrons, appear to be the only financial emoluments of literary production in the fifth century. Statesmen of the fifth and fourth centuries seem to have published their more important speeches after they were delivered. Isocrates is a special case: precluded from active politics by the weakness of his voice and by his shyness, he earned his livelihood first as a *logographos* and later as the head of a successful humanistic school, rhetorical and political. His published "speeches" are therefore really pamphlets, or the equivalent of modern editorial writing. He well knew the gravity of his handicap and the limitations of writing,⁷⁵ and was troubled at times by qualms about publishing.⁷⁶ Yet despite the activity of dealers, few in Sparta "had" his speeches.⁷⁷

The sixth- and fifth-century chroniclers or logographers, the fragments of whose works are now becoming really accessible to us through the labors of F. Jacoby, could hardly have been quoted and criticized by their successors if their works had not been reduced to writing; their places of activity are too widely scattered to permit the notion that oral tradition would suffice to explain their knowledge of one another's work, even granted that they were often great travelers, and that "author's readings" of historical works at Athens and at athletic and religious places of gathering seem sometimes to have taken place.⁷⁸ What interests us particularly is the gradual emergence of history composed in a critical spirit, expressing the

personal point of view of the author, and dealing with themes of large and general importance, and encompassed in works with some artistic coherence. Thus Hecataeus boldly and skeptically takes issue with his predecessors: "This I write as the truth seems to me, for the traditions (*logoi*) of the Greeks are as it seems to me many and laughable."⁷⁹ Hellanicus, the first to combine local and general history and to include contemporary events, though criticized for faulty chronology by Thucydides,⁸⁰ really sets the pattern for his greater successors. Herodotus seems disdainful of foreign logographers in his remarks on historical method,⁸¹ and gives us to understand that in describing Egypt he is at pains to supplement personal observation (*ὄψις*) and opinion (*γνώμη*) and investigation (*ἱστορίη*) by what he heard from men whom he interviewed (*ἀκοή*).⁸² How he composed remains uncertain; but it now appears likely that the original work was planned as a history of Persia, but was later expanded to become the story of the Persian Wars; both parts were composed in Athens and for an Athenian audience, the latter part after the return of Herodotus from Thurii. The revised plan is set forth in his "title page" (his first sentence), and is roughly carried out by what follows, but with generous epic digression, inserted *logoi*, and a disproportionate massing of preliminary material before the announced theme is reached.⁸³ But there is no sign that the work was left incomplete in the sense that the story was to have been continued beyond its present limits; it merely lacks the author's *ultima manus*, his ruthless pruning and revision. Yet who would do without any of this engaging prose epic? Nevertheless we must not suppose anything like oral improvisation, nor even oral recitation; it is a written work, of which the first part was completed about 442 B.C., and the rest "published" shortly before 425 B.C., when Aristophanes parodied a passage in it.⁸⁴ The very fact that the History of Herodotus, a written book, is so much less coherently and artistically built than the Homeric poems proves not so much that history is by nature less capable than epic of achieving organic unity than that his work comes still rather early in the growing and experimental movement of historical writing, while the Homeric poems come at the climax and virtually at the end of the period of epic poetry. The spoken word had found its perfect form just as it was being reduced to writing; the written word, seeking to "answer questions," is still groping for appropriate form.

Thucydides, like Herodotus, looked back patronizingly to the logographers, among whom he included Herodotus without naming him,

and contrasted his own more painstaking and scientific historic method with their eye to popularity. Few authors have ever composed with so bold and so outspoken announcement of their intention to write not for any immediate audience but for posterity, for all who esteem the materials of mature reflection on what is permanent and significant in human nature.⁸⁵ How Thucydides composed is also doubtful, in spite of the indications of his two prefaces.⁸⁶ The least that we are entitled to believe is that he began to keep *hypomnemata* at the outbreak of the War, that he was at pains to copy inscriptions, to interview witnesses: it is difficult to believe that he postponed actual composition long after his exile in 424, that he did not make a fresh start after 421, and that he did not make some revisions and additions after 404.⁸⁷ That he did not live to complete either the work itself or the revision of what he had written appears from the point where it breaks off and from the absence of speeches in the eighth book. But the book was written,⁸⁸ and was so promptly "published" that it soon found continuators.

For Aristotle, the plot (*μῦθος*) was "the soul of tragedy";⁸⁹ and Herodotus with his epic theme and his gift for flowing narrative style, despite the lopsidedness of his work, created a tragic as well as an epic work. Thucydides was hampered by his annalistic method, for which he compensated chiefly by his use of speeches. These may be called the "soul" of his work; but they correspond less to the plot than to the *stasima* and to the debates of tragedy, since they set forth the significance of political action, and the estimates of national traits, as well as the inner motives and characters of the speakers as Thucydides conceived them. The speeches in Herodotus, which are of course fictitious in spite of the *τάδε* that often introduces them, serve to enliven the narrative, and are ordinarily conversational in tone and without signs of sophistic logic or structure or figures, but sometimes have gnomic conclusions; the great exception is the debate of the Persian nobles,⁹⁰ which besides characterizing the speakers serves (anachronistically) to contrast forms of government of interest to fifth-century Greeks. What is exceptional in Herodotus becomes usual in Thucydides. All his speeches are public speeches, and the author may have heard many of those which he professes to report; but he disclaims verbal accuracy (substituting *τοιαῦδε* . . . *τοιαῦτα* for the *τάδε* of Herodotus), and comments explicitly on the difficulty of getting "the exact words"; what he presents is therefore what he considers opportune, the inner logic of a situation, *τὰ δέοντα*, not, we may add, what would be characteristic of the speaker (*τὰ προσήκοντα*);⁹¹ and

indeed it is seldom that a speech seems to show the *ethopoia* that we associate with Lysias. The apologia of Alcibiades⁹² may reflect his personality; but Cleon is permitted with ironical effect to echo Periclean language and even thought.⁹³ Since both the actual speeches which Thucydides could have heard, and still more obviously those which he could not have heard, were not "published" except by the memory or *hypomnemata* of the hearers (and Thucydides is at pains to tell us that this was his source), we reach the conclusion that the speeches as reported are to a large extent composed by Thucydides himself and introduced at dramatic moments in his narrative for dramatic purposes. The general purport is doubtless preserved, and the fund of ideas which Pericles or another person was known to have maintained; but the organization of the material, the sophistic figures, and the general style are Thucydidean, and the style is most difficult, as Bury noted,⁹⁴ when the author "is making points of his own." The crucial instance is the Funeral Oration, in which is concentrated the essence of what Thucydides believed to be the Periclean conception of the mission of Athens and the significance of the War; placed as it is, without comment, just before the account of the plague, the death of Pericles, and the estimate of his character and career, and not long before the melancholy record of Athenian reversals and declining morale, it has the effect of dramatic irony, an epitaph not on the fallen Athenians, but on Athens herself. The "Melian Dialogue," a unique example in Thucydides of dramatic give and take, is likewise placed just before the tragic story of Athenian defeat at Syracuse. Less deliberate, perhaps unconscious on the part of the author, are various anachronisms in speeches that report speakers as referring to events or to other speeches which they could not have known.⁹⁵ These, and the speeches in Thucydides in general, may be considered as examples of "the spoken word" which, now reduced to writing, is seeking to "answer questions" by the help of its foster parent.

VI

The sophists both lectured and wrote. Their contemporary Socrates was a reader;⁹⁶ but he learned mostly neither from books nor from any "vernal wood," but from self-examination and the cross-examination of his fellow men.⁹⁷ Unlike the sophists, he neither lectured nor wrote books, in the latter respect resembling the Pythagoreans.⁹⁸ His oral discourses were the result of casual encounters with young men in the more frequented gathering-places of Athens, or of only slightly more formal gatherings at the homes of friends. Whereas

the sophists preferred to hold the floor and deliver set speeches, Socrates preferred the rapid give and take of conversation and the coöperative or dialectical discovery of truth, in which two or more participants contributed to the discussion and were subject to questioning or refutation; yet he was willing on occasion to comply with the wish of a disputant and give him rope with which to entangle himself, and to exercise the same privilege to set forth at length his own point of view.⁹⁹ If the Socrates of the Platonic dialogues seems more and more inclined to take the bit in his teeth and to run away with the argument, leaving to his interlocutors only the useful office of giving assent (and of breaking up the discourse into units agreeable to the reader), we may suppose, first, that Socrates, for all his ironical humility, did have a notion of what ought to be said, in a manner both protreptic and analytical; and, in the second place, that, as the dialogues are spread out before us in their chronological sequence, we are witnessing Plato's gradual transition from the reporting of the historic Socrates to his own dramatic use of Socrates and his interlocutors for the expression of his own developing thought. And if Socrates did not himself write books, more than one writer of "Socratic discourses" repaired the omission after his death, defending his memory and reporting more or less the substance of what he had said in self-defense in court; hence the *Apologies* of Plato and Xenophon, the early *Dialogues* of Plato, the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon, and other works of minor importance. An analogy has often been seen in the fact that the historic Jesus left no writings, but that the memory of His oral teaching (the Sermon on the Mount, and parables and other discourses) was recorded, along with narrative accounts, some years afterwards by disciples and converts, with added interpretation.

Plato's *Apology of Socrates* I am inclined to accept, not as necessarily the earliest extant Platonic work, but as probably a fairly close record of the actual words of Socrates, based on *hypomnemata* written by some one who was present at the trial.¹⁰⁰ The *ethos* of Socrates is admirably clear-cut, and the structure of the speech is no more formal than one might expect of Socrates, who after all was familiar with sophistic rhetoric, even if he was a stranger to the courtroom; it seems in fact informal in tone when compared with most of the orations of the period. I admit that these are personal impressions, and that it is possible to admire in the speech not so much the trustworthiness of the record as the dramatic skill of Plato; I know of no objective test that will give a final answer to

this problem.¹⁰¹ Yet here if anywhere, on either hypothesis, is the nearest access that we have to the spoken word of Socrates, who asks the jury for permission to speak in his own fashion rather than in theirs;¹⁰² the other Platonic dialogues that introduce Socrates as a speaker also show his resilience and responsiveness to occasion and theme and interlocutor, but always, and increasingly with the lapse of years, with the transforming genius of Plato at work.

Young Plato, one of the closest associates of Socrates, had naturally intended to enter public life, like several of his aristocratic kinsmen; but he had been utterly disillusioned both by their conduct and later by the execution of Socrates by the restored democracy. For a time he had entertained the hope that the constitution might be reformed, till he was forced to abandon this illusion, too:

all existing states are badly governed . . . and I was forced to say, in praise of true philosophy, that only from its vantage ground can men discern what is right in public and in private affairs, and that the human race would never have respite from evils until either the true philosophers should hold political power or the holders of political power should by some divine chance become true philosophers.

So Plato wrote, toward the end of his life, about his mood during the last years of the fifth century and down to his first visit to Sicily and Italy at the age of about forty.¹⁰³ What was young Plato to do, torn between the desire to play his part in public affairs and his belief in all that Socrates stood for? Well, he could set down in writing his impressions of his master, showing that his character and interests had been misunderstood, and utilizing the form of the dialogue which came close to the actual method of Socratic discourse: hence the early "Socratic" dialogues, composed during Plato's visit in Megara, immediately after the death of Socrates, and during the years just after his return to Athens about 395.

The opening pages of the *Theaetetus*, a relatively late dialogue, are of particular interest for the light that they throw on Plato's own methods of composition in the earlier dialogues: How is Euclides able to gratify Terpsion's curiosity about a conversation of some years ago between Socrates and Theaetetus? Well, he cannot repeat it impromptu as he once heard it repeated by Socrates himself; but fortunately "I took notes (*hypomnemata*) as soon as I got home, which I filled up from memory and wrote out at leisure; and whenever I went to Athens I asked Socrates about any point which I had forgotten, and on my return I made corrections; in this way

I have nearly the whole conversation written down." So he is able to produce the "book" and to have a slave read it aloud.¹⁰⁴

Plato had not given up the hope that thought and action could be united, and in fact his concern throughout his life was in the highest sense political; but the question had become insistent whether thought could penetrate action immediately or only by a gradual and remote influence. It is stated with a new and intense bitterness in the *Gorgias*, composed after a new attack on the memory of Socrates by the sophist Polycrates, and shortly before Plato's first departure for Sicily; not merely the rival claims of rhetoric and philosophy are at stake, but Plato's whole personal convictions. It is an *apologia* for his own withdrawal from politics, not through cowardice, but for an ultimate conquest of evil through the life of reason. The Sicilian interlude, a concession to the remote possibility of converting a potentate to philosophy, ended probably no more happily than Plato had really expected. Then came the return to Athens, the Academy, and the major dialogues.

For whom did Plato write? Perhaps at first he composed the "Socratic" dialogues in order to make clear in his own mind what Socrates stood for; these he may have circulated among his own friends. Then his purpose became more apologetic, and he addressed a larger public, not always friendly to Socrates: "this," he was saying in effect, "was the real Socrates; or such, at least, is what his life and teaching means today." Presently, since interpretations of Socrates were now tending in different directions, he wrote for kindred or rival groups in other cities: the *Phaedo* for the group at Phlius, the *Theaetetus* for the Megarian circle. Some of the dialogues may even have been designed to give wider publicity to his teaching and thus to attract students to the Academy; that such an effect was not impossible, whether or not it was so designed, may be inferred from the story about the Corinthian farmer who was moved by his reading of the *Gorgias* to sell his property and join the Academy.¹⁰⁵ As the thought became increasingly his own, it is necessary to suppose that such a work as the *Republic*, though in large part intelligible and of interest to "the general reader," was aimed especially at those who had become familiar with Platonic doctrines through oral instruction in the Academy. And some of the later dialogues may have been intended mainly for the members of the Academy.¹⁰⁶

It would be a great mistake, however, to think of Plato as concerned wholly, or even primarily, with the written word. Like his master, he always believed that the spoken word has a vitality of its

own. The statement in the Seventh Epistle, quoted above,¹⁰⁷ about the union of philosophy and politics of course has its counterpart in the famous declaration of the *Republic* about the "philosopher-king"; yet we must take its language literally: "I was forced to *say*" (not write). Certainly the *Republic* had not been written in the years before the first visit to Sicily; and Plato is referring in the Epistle to what he had said orally and only later repeated in a written work. Again it is clear that Aristophanes in the *Ecclesiazusae* (of 392 B.C.) is ridiculing some of the ideas which were set forth later in the *Republic*; doubtless they were "in the air" in the 390's, and Plato very probably had his say about them, like other men of the time; but if he had committed himself to writing about them, Aristophanes would have been likely to name him along with the other named contemporaries.

Not only was Plato a talker, as well as a writer, before the founding of the Academy; it appears that his teaching in the Academy was chiefly oral. Thus, oddly enough, we know his writings, but have only indirect evidence about the content of his lectures, which were not published; whereas we have the notes representing Aristotle's lectures, but generally only fragments of his published works.¹⁰⁸ In the *Republic* Plato evades the direct and systematic discussion of "The Good," which he dealt with in lectures; even the Theory of Ideas, as presented in his writings, presupposes a good deal of oral discussion and illustration. Much of the teaching of the Academy had to do with mathematical and metaphysical and political problems, assigned for investigation by advanced students.¹⁰⁹ There were probably times, perhaps periods of years, when the demands of the Academy and the second and third visits to Syracuse altogether prevented literary composition.¹¹⁰

What is more, we are not without some direct statements by Plato about the relation between his written and his oral teaching. Besides the general disparagement of writing contained in the passage of the *Phaedrus* with which the present paper began, there is the odd statement in the Second Epistle (314c): "There is no written composition of Plato about these matters, nor will there ever be one. What are now called such belong to Socrates become young and beautiful." That is, the Platonic dialogues represent "the Socratic method and spirit applied to modern problems,"¹¹¹ and it is idle to seek in them a complete presentation of Plato's own philosophy. But the Second Letter is of very doubtful authenticity; we are on safer ground when we turn to the Seventh Letter (344c): "If any

one sees a written composition of any one, whether by a legislator on laws, or anything else on any other subject, he must know that these are not that man's most serious interests, if he is a serious man." Here Plato is disclaiming the right of Dionysius to set forth Plato's philosophy on the basis of his writings; these, Plato is saying in the spirit of the Socrates of the *Phaedrus*, are only *jeux d'esprit*. A little earlier in the Epistle he has given an account of his philosophical position which he says repeats what he "has often said before," presumably in the Academy, and probably also at the court of Dionysius.¹¹² But his reluctance in writing has also been explained: "I have composed no work about these matters, and shall never do so; for this subject cannot be expressed in words like other subjects of study, but only after long association and close companionship with the subject itself is a sudden light born in the soul, like a blaze kindled by a leaping spark, and at once becomes self-sustaining."¹¹³ Oral instruction, then, with opportunities of dialectical discussion leading to a final act of intuition, is superior to an inert because written treatise. Now the dialogues, when they are most Socratic and most dramatic in their setting forth of the conflict of opinion and the emergence of a final confession of perplexity or a final statement of a position achieved, do succeed in portraying this oral method, and in "putting it in words," for various ethical and political subjects. But there were other subjects which did not lend themselves equally to the written dialogue: mathematical studies, metaphysical inquiries, the theory of Ideas, and above all the Idea of Good, which if anything is "the central doctrine of Plato's philosophy."¹¹⁴ Here the dialectical method was still appropriate, and the oral lecture might serve to present a provisional statement of a position tentatively held. But the passage just quoted from the Seventh Epistle reveals why Plato steadily declined to give to the written page his mature expression of the Idea of Good, and why his account of dialectic is finally conceived as the supreme example of deduction, deriving all being from "the Good."¹¹⁵ As such, this "coping stone" of all previous studies proves to be an imaginative ideal for philosophy, never to be fully realized, and never to be fully described; for philosophy is an unending quest, not a completed result; it is the love of wisdom, not the possession of it.¹¹⁶ Yet the Idea of Good is here and there adumbrated, in question and answer, in simile and parable and myth (in the *Republic*), and in special inquiries (*Philebus*, *Timaeus*, *Laws*).¹¹⁷ There was a legend that when Plato lectured on "The Good" all his hearers gradually deserted him, all save one, who was

none other than Aristotle. And Aristotle refers, for another point, to Plato's "Unwritten Opinions."¹¹⁸

There are indeed other indications of the vitality that Plato believed to be inherent in thought that has not been mummified by the written word. For him, as for other Greeks, law was a living moral force; so in the *Crito* he represents the Laws as pleading with Socrates like a father with his son; in the *Republic* he deplores tinkering legislation, since the good sense of rulers will take care of administrative details; in the *Politicus* he contrasts the rigidity of written law with the flexibility of a living statesman; and in the *Laws* he conceives of the preambles to his projected legislation as literature worthy to be used in the instruction of the young.¹¹⁹ For Plato, as for other Greeks, what is said or written comes from the promptings of memory; only for him, however, this means not the recall of verbal echoes, or recourse to written *hypomnemata*, but the fresh access of the thinker to direct and personal experience. For him *mnemosyne* is replaced by *anamnesis*, recollection of the ideal world; ¹²⁰ suspicious of the written word, he never becomes a "misologist," but follows the *logos* wherever it may lead.¹²¹ It leads him happily to use symbols freely, myth and image and all the rest of the poet's ageless means of giving substance to the abstract and the impalpable; it leads him to the heights of vision. And even in their written form these symbolic utterances, like any great imaginative work of art, preserve their vitality and their responsiveness to new ages and new readers, far better than Plato himself could realize. The best answer to the strictures of the *Phaedrus* on writing is to be found in the dialogues themselves.

For despite all his misgivings about the written word, Plato fortunately did write his dialogues, all of which appear to have survived, doubtless because they were preserved in the library of the Academy; and the texts, and consequently the extant manuscripts and modern editions based on them, were in far better condition than those of most other ancient authors. How they were "published" in his lifetime, beyond the circulation among friends, is not fully known. It was held against Plato's pupil Hermodorus that he "traveled in Plato"; that is, that he sold manuscripts of his master's writings, though not without due authorization, but was so mercenary about it that his name became a byword. However that may be, he at least served to make Plato known in Sicily; and for all we know he may have brought back to Plato the proceeds of his sales.¹²² Aristotle's anecdote about the Corinthian farmer mentioned above,¹²³

and Aristotle's frequent references to the dialogues of Plato prove that they were becoming known during and shortly after his lifetime; probably the Academy itself served *inter alia* as a publishing house, and allowed some works by others than Plato (the *Epinomis*, etc.) to be included with his writings.¹²⁴

The age of Aristotle is an age of readers and libraries: "It is not too much to say that with Aristotle the Greek world passed from oral instruction to the habit of reading."¹²⁵ So much may be said in general terms; but the statement requires considerable qualification. Aristotle himself attended the oral instruction of the Academy during a period of some twenty years; yet "it was only by reading, and not through any living presence of the Socratic spirit in the Academy of the sixties, that Aristotle learned what Socrates had meant to Plato and his early disciples."¹²⁶ That is because Plato's own oral teaching had gone so far beyond the teaching of Socrates. Nevertheless Aristotle, like other members of the Academy, and he rather more than the others, wrote dialogues, but with the idea of developing not Plato's written thought but rather his oral teaching. Some important fragments of these (chiefly early) Aristotelian works are extant, and are beginning to receive the attention that they deserve. Later "he practically abandoned literary activity, since the treatises are merely the written basis of his very extensive activities as teacher and lecturer"; there are exceptions, but "Aristotle radically altered his view about the necessity of presenting science in literary form," unlike Plato, whose "primary impulse was not to set forth doctrine but to show the philosopher in the dramatic instant of seeking and finding, and to make the doubt and conflict visible."¹²⁷

It has been customary, partly on the basis of explicit references in Aristotle's text, to classify the Aristotelian writings as either "exoteric" ("published," *ἐκδεδομένοι λόγοι*), or "esoteric" ("unpublished," *ἀκροάσεις, κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν*), and to suppose that the former were the dialogues, for sale outside the Lyceum, while the latter were lecture notes, or abstracts of lectures made by students; even learned Peripatetics believed that only the latter contain Aristotle's true but secret views, while the former were by other persons.¹²⁸ The distinction is not quite so simple as that; it is now realized that they all represent Aristotle, in varying degrees, and that they show development in philosophical matters, as well as in form.¹²⁹ We may picture the activities of the Lyceum as a Graduate School of Arts and Sciences; according to tradition, the more technical matters were dealt with in morning lectures, while a larger afternoon audience heard

discussions on rhetoric and politics.¹³⁰ The lectures "are mostly preserved to us in the writings of Aristotle"; but these treatises lack finished literary form; and Aristotle shows "a gradually increasing paralysis of the desire for literary creation, until finally he is wholly wrapped up in teaching."¹³¹ So in spite of the paradoxical fact that I have already mentioned about the preservation of the oral teaching and of the written works of Plato and Aristotle,¹³² Aristotle was not really at odds with the sentiment expressed in the *Phaedrus*, that the written word is inferior to the spoken word; the real Aristotle never expressed himself completely in either his treatises or his dialogues (though neither of these may now be safely ignored), but was to be found in his living influence on his pupils. It may be added that the later philosophic schools of antiquity likewise gave chief weight to oral teaching.

One last word remains to be written. We may agree with the Socrates of the *Phaedrus*, and with the actual practice of Plato and Aristotle and of all great thinkers and teachers who have been concerned to mould the lives and the thought of their own age, that the written word is a poor and a lifeless thing compared with daily personal intercourse and the give-and-take of the spoken word. This we forget, in an age of mechanized communication, only at our peril. But it is also true that, for better or for worse, *habent sua fata libelli*; and the best of them, an *Iliad* or a *Republic* or a *Hamlet*, live many lives. The utterance of Homer and Plato and Shakspeare would have died on the air if there had been only memory and oral tradition to preserve it; but "a good book," in Milton's words, "is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."

NOTES

1. For present purposes it is enough to mention H. L. Lorimer, "Homer and the Art of Writing," *AJA* LII (1948), 11-23; T. Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen* (1882), 342-370; 430-437; F. W. Hall, *Companion to Classical Texts* (1912), 25-29; Sir F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Greece and Rome* (1932), 1-37; B. L. Ullman, *Ancient Writing and Its Influence* (1932); G. H. Putnam, *Authors and their Public in Ancient Times* (1894), though unscholarly, is not without interest.

The whole question of the relation of authors to their public, general or special, aristocratic or plebeian, educated or uneducated, seems to have been less investigated for Greece than for Rome, probably partly because of the scanty evidence available for Greece. For Rome, which I do not discuss here, cf. A.-M. Guillemin, *Le Public et la Vie Littéraire à Rome* (1937); on literary patronage,

D. M. Schullian, *External Stimuli to Literary Patronage in Rome, 90 B.C.-27 B.C.* (1932), and works cited therein.

The present study was almost completed when I recalled the admirable essay, with the similar though not identical title, by S. H. Butcher, which I had read perhaps thirty years ago: "The Written and the Spoken Word," in *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius* (1904), 177-210. It supplements at many points what follows here.

2. Lorimer, *op. cit.*, 20.

3. H. W. Parke, *A History of the Delphic Oracle* (1939), 30f, 39f, and *passim*.

4. Butcher, *op. cit.*, 182-187; R. Hirzel, *Agraphos Nomos* (1901; W. C. Greene, *Moirai* (1944), see Index, s.v. "Unwritten Law." Roman law also recognized the spoken agreement as the real contract, and the written record as less valuable than the word of witnesses.

5. Kenyon, *op. cit.*, 12-16, regarded the arguments for a written Homer, though not for a reading public, as "overwhelmingly strong." Lorimer, *op. cit.*, 20, holds that "the author of the *Odyssey* could undoubtedly have written down his poem, and it is virtually, if not absolutely, certain that the author of the *Iliad* could have done likewise."

6. M. Parry, esp. in "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making, I: Homer and Homeric Style," *HSCP* XLI (1930), 73-147 (hereafter referred to as "Parry I"); "The Homeric Language as the Language of an Oral Poetry," *HSCP* XLIII (1933), 1-50 ("Parry II"). Parry's other writings are of interest and importance; but these two are of fundamental importance for my present purpose, so that I confine my citations to them. Likewise I am severely eclectic in referring only to the following: A. B. Lord, "Homer, Parry, and Huso," *AJA* LII (1948), 45-50; G. M. Calhoun, "Homeric Repetitions," *Univ. Cal. Publ. in Class. Phil.* XII (1933), 1, 1-26 ("Calhoun I") and "The Art of Formula in Homer," *CP* XXX (1935), 215-227 ("Calhoun II"); S. Bassett, *The Poetry of Homer* (Berkeley, 1938), esp. 14-25.

7. Parry I 75.

8. 79, n. 1. Similarly M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (London, 1933), 179-183; 197-211.

9. 80-134.

10. 134, 144.

11. Parry II 50; cf. Lord, cited above in n. 6.

12. Parry I 138 and *passim*.

13. Parry I 143.

14. I 134f; 137f.

15. I 135-137. Cf. J. Whatmough, in *AJA* LII (1948), 45-50, who shows that the eclectic language proves multiple origin and a long tradition, a "complex descent (rather than 'origin')," and concludes on linguistic grounds, as well as on the basis of Parry's arguments for formulaic style and a tradition of oral composition, that "many a composer contributed a part." He holds that the two poems could not have been composed by a single "author," though a single "editor" may have existed by the sixth century.

16. Bassett, *op. cit.* (above, n. 6), 115.

17. Yet see Parry I 124, which at least mentions this fact.

18. Parry I 122, 124.

19. Calhoun I 18; cf. 22, 25.

20. Calhoun II; partly anticipated by Parry I 125. With this use of formula in Homer, which may be called "functional," one may compare H. N. Porter, "Repetition in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite," *AJP* LXX (1949), 249-272, especially with regard to meaning and to "organizational function."

21. Parry I 134f, 137f, 147.

22. I 138.

23. I 146.

24. α 351-352; Parry II 12-17.

25. II 50; Lord, *op. cit.* (above, n. 6).

26. Parry I 147. One may question whether the songs collected by Parry in Yugoslavia have ever passed far beyond the stage of a moderate competence; they show an oral technique, but Huso is not a Homer.

27. Calhoun I 25. Dealing with a different body of material, Louise Pound has successfully disputed, in *Poetic Origins and the Ballad* (1921), the supposed "communal" authorship of primitive poetry. On somewhat similar grounds it may be said that great poetry is the product not of a stylistic tradition but of a poet working in the tradition.

28. Cf. epic invocations to the Muse; Solon 1, 1; F. Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aeschylus* (Ithaca, 1949), 70, on "Mnemosyne, the first divine incarnation of a spiritual power as such"; J. A. Notopoulos, "Mnemosyne in Oral Literature," *TAPA* LXIX (1938), 465-493; J. L. Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu* (1930), 56, on the role of "the deep well of unconscious cerebration" in Coleridge's recovery of half-forgotten reading. (Lowes borrows the phrase from Henry James.)

29. E.g., Sappho 58; Theognis 237-254; Ennius' epitaph; Virgil, *Aen.* IX 446-449; Horace, *Odes* I 1, 29-36, II 20, III 30, IV 3; Ovid, *Met.* XV 871-879; Shakspeare, *Sonnets* 18, 55, 81.

30. J. A. Scott, *The Unity of Homer* (1921), esp. 167-171, 201-204; 250-264; C. M. Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (1930) was also written before Parry's publications appeared, and should be considered or revised in the light of them; but most of it will stand without serious modification. Bowra's present interests in other early epic poetry, pursued with full knowledge of Parry's writings, will also bear fruit, not least in showing the incomparable superiority of Homer. Cf. also W. J. Woodhouse, *The Composition of Homer's Odyssey* (1930).

30a. J. A. Notopoulos, in "Parataxis in Homer," *TAPA* LXXX (1949), a challenging paper which I heard and read only after completing the present study, finds in Greek literature and art "a mind which evolved from a flexible, loosely coordinated unity to an organic unity" (p. 11), and therefore disputes the relevance of Aristotelian criticism to Homer. With much of his argument I agree; but I think he does less than justice both to the "art" and to the "ideas" of Homer.

31. Calhoun I 6, 10f, 20f, uses the analogy of music.

32. Cf. E. E. Kellett, *Fashion in Literature: A Study of Changing Taste* (1931), Chap. II, "The Evolution of Taste," esp. 9-46, on the varying effect of the same work on a hearer and on a reader.

33. For the varying effect on the singer's audience, cf. α 325-364; θ 72-95, 499-543; ι 1-11; ρ 518-521; cf. λ 333f, on the effect of the tale of Odysseus.

34. Cf. R. Wellek, in Wellek and Warren, *Theory of Literature* (1949), 148-158; 156f, on the identity of "structure" of the *Iliad* which persists, though much else in it can be imperfectly appreciated by us.

35. E.g., Niceratus (Xen. *Symp.* III, 5), and Macaulay.

36. E.g., Milton and Mozart.

37. Parry I 144. Bowra, *op. cit.*, 48-52, is cautious, and regards the question of writing as not of the first importance; but he leans toward the use of writing by Homer. We may compare Jeremiah, who made oral prophecies and then, in the year 604 B.C., dictated them to Baruch as a written book (Jeremiah, Chap. 36). Incidentally, this book was burned by King Jehoiakim, but was reproduced in a second and identical "edition" by the same process, but with additions. This is an early example of book-burning, on which subject in general, the converse of publication, cf. A. S. Pease, in *Munera Studiosa: Studies in Honor of W. H. P. Hatch* (1946), 145-160. Pease, 147, and Birt, *op. cit.*, 367, record no earlier instance of book-burning in Greece than 411 B.C. (the book of Protagoras). On the composition of Old Testament literature, partly from earlier oral materials (narratives, codes, poems, prophecies, often with formulaic characteristics), cf. A. S. Pease, *A Commentary on the Bible* (1919), esp. 44-49, 341f. Once the possibility of writing was established, a "singer" could assume a double role: "My tongue is the pen of a ready writer" (Psalm 45:1). This is like an Elizabethan boy-actor playing the part of a woman disguised as a young man (Viola, Rosalind, Portia). Cf. Job 19.23f.: "Oh that my words were now written!" etc., and 31.35: "Oh that . . . mine adversary had written a book!" etc. (Probably late fifth-century, when writing was common, but anachronistically introduced into the dramatic setting of a much earlier time.)

38. Lorimer, *op. cit.*, 21; cf. J. A. K. Thomson, *Studies in the Odyssey* (1914), 177-193; T. W. Allen, "The Homeridae," in *Homer, Origins and Transmission* (1924), 42-50; W. Schadewaldt, "Die Gestalt des Homerischen Sangers," in *Von Homers Welt und Werk* (1944). Virgil, reading aloud his own *Georgics* and certain books of the *Aeneid* to Octavian, revived something like the ancient epic tradition.

39. *Homeric Hymns*, ed. Allen-Halliday-Sikes (1936), cix.

40. Allen-Halliday-Sikes, 350f. But cf. Porter, *op. cit.*, on the "organizational function" of repetition even here.

41. *θ* 266-366.

42. Parry II 43. Schol. on Pind. *Nem.* 2.1. Allen-Halliday-Sikes, 183-186, date Cynaethus "surely not long after . . . 733." But H. T. Wade-Gery, "Kynaithos," in *Greek Poetry and Life* (1936), 56-78, suggests that much of the Delian part of the poem may well be really ancient ("the work of Homer himself"), but that the original poem was enlarged and continued by Cynaethus of Chios for recitation in Syracuse about 504 B.C. This is consistent with the statement of Schol. Pind.

43. *Theogony* 22-34. I still feel difficulty in believing that the same poet composed both the *Works and Days* and the *Theogony*, even after the arguments of W. Jaeger, *Paideia I*² (1945), 430-433, notes 3, 14, 25, and of F. Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aeschylus* (1949), 4f. And granted the identity, *Theog.* 22ff would seem to indicate that the *Works and Days* was composed before the *Theogony*. For my present purpose, however, I shall regard both poems as Hesiod's, and the question of priority of the two works matters little.

44. *Theogony* 94-103.

45. *Theogony* 28; *Works and Days*, *passim*.

46. See above, p. 32.

47. W. Jaeger, *Paideia I*² (1945), 66: "The *Works and Days* is a huge ad-

monitory speech, a protreptic utterance: as such, like the elegies of Tyrtaeus and Solon, it is directly descended, both in style and in tone, from the speeches of the Homeric epic." Jaeger compares "the long admonitory speech of Phoenix in *Iliad* IX." The descent is clear; but Hesiod's double audience, Perses (and the "kings") and his more general public, represents a new departure.

48. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen* (1893), II, 304, 314; W. Jaeger, *Paideia* I² (1945) 89.

49. It is unnecessary here to traverse again the ground that was on the whole adequately covered by E. Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat in der Griechischen Literatur* (1912), except to suggest that it needs to be supplemented by a study of Greek literary imitation as thorough as G. C. Fiske's study of certain phases of Roman imitation in his *Lucilius and Horace: A Study in the Classical Theory of Imitation* (1920).

50. Cf. W. C. Greene, *Moirai* (1944), 43f, and *HSCP* XLVI (1935), 26, 32; W. Jaeger, *Paideia* I² (1945), 187-193.

51. See below, p. 37. For Pindar's relations with Bacchylides, cf. C. M. Bowra in *HSCP* XLVIII (1937), 1-28.

52. Herodotus VI 27; Aristophanes, *Daitales*, fr. 223; *Clouds* 961-1023, 1353-1379; for scenes in vase-painting, showing the use in schools of written texts as well as writing tablets and musical instruments, see the Kylix of Douris, Berlin No. 2285 (J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* 1942, p. 283, no. 47.)

53. Plutarch, *Aristides* VII 7.

54. See below, pp. 42f.

55. Cf. Plato, *Symp.* 207c-209e.

56. Cf. "Longinus," *On the Sublime* VII 3-4: this amounts to a definition of "classicism."

57. E.g., *Agamemnon* 750-760.

58. It is enough to mention, without accepting, A. W. Verrall's ingenious suggestion that some Euripidean plays were composed for two audiences: the orthodox general public, and the knowing persons who could read between the lines his ironical meanings; or that some of the plays were intended for private performance, before a select group of the intelligentsia. This would involve a new conflict: that between the spoken and the intended word.

59. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1114: βιβλίον τ' ἔχων ἕκαστος μαρθάνει τὰ δεξιὰ. Kenyon, *op. cit.*, 22f. believes that the line is to be taken literally, or in any case that it implies that "the younger generation is accustomed to the use of books."

60. Hall, *op. cit.*, 27.

61. *Actors' Interpolations in Greek Tragedy* (1934), 1; cf. 112, on the progress of a text from poet to publisher.

62. P. W. Harsh, *Handbook of Classical Drama* (1944), 157, with references in n. 5 (p. 457); Hall, *op. cit.*, 27f.

63. Many points to be noted in the transition from these *hypomnemata* to literary prose are discussed by W. Aly, in *Formprobleme der frühen griechischen Prosa* (*Philologus*, Suppl. XXI, Heft III, 1929).

64. J. A. K. Thomson, *The Art of the Logos* (1935), attempts to trace in Herodotus the survival here and there of the traditional oral tale, whether true or fictitious.

65. G. Murray, *A History of Ancient Greek Literature* (1897), 123.

66. Cf. K. Freeman, *The Pre-Socratic Philosophers* (1946), 50.

67. Themistius, *Disc.* 25, p. 317 Dindorf; for the rival claim of Pherecydes of Syros, cf. Freeman, 38; for Cadmus of Miletus, cf. J. B. Bury, *Ancient Greek Historians* (1909), 14.

68. Strabo I 1.11.

69. Xenophanes 2; cf. Freeman, *op. cit.*, 94.

70. Parmenides, frags. B6,8. Cf. J. Burnet, *Greek Philosophy, Thales to Plato* (1914), 63: "Parmenides . . . after Heraclitus, and in conscious opposition to him"; Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy* * (1930), 178-180, 183ff.; K. Reinhardt, *Parmenides* (1916), and W. Jaeger, *Paideia* I² 183 and n. 185, reverse the relationship of the two philosophers; in this case, we must think of a book going from Elea to Ephesus.

71. Plato, *Phaedo* 97b, 98b.

72. Plato, *Apology* 26d.

73. P. 40.

74. Alcidas, in his elaborate treatise *On the Sophists, or Those Who Compose Written Speeches*, defends the superiority of spoken and extemporary discourse; the written speech is a mere phantom or imitation of it (cf. section 27f, in the edition of Antiphon, etc., by Blass, 1892). For Demosthenes, cf. A. P. Dorjahn, in *TAPA LXXVIII* (1947), 69-76; and in general, H. L. Brown, *Extemporary Speech in Antiquity* (1924).

75. Isocrates, *Phil.* 81,82; *Panath.* 10.

76. *Panath.* 233.

77. Dion. Hal., *de Isocr.* 18 (= Aristotle, fr. 134 Rose); Isocrates, *Panath.* 250.

78. So far as this did take place, this and the sophistic lectures are the nearest Greek equivalents of the Roman *recitatio*; but see below, n. 84. For the process by which oral tradition and written documents were combined in Athens, cf. F. Jacoby, *Atthis: The Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens* (1949), *passim* (Index, p. 431, s.v. "tradition, oral").

79. Hecataeus, *FGrHist* 1 F1a.

80. I 97.

81. I 5. The λόγοι (I 1; cf. I 5, II 3) are story-tellers, not necessarily "historians."

82. II 99; cf. II 123; VII 152, in which Herodotus records his own skepticism. Yet he used chiefly oral tradition.

83. For further details, cf. J. L. Myres, *Herodotus, Outline Analysis of Books I-VI* (1912), distinguishing by modern printing devices the various sections, digressions (equivalent to footnotes, appendices, or alternating instalments of different stories); J. E. Powell, *The History of Herodotus* (1939); summary on pp. 84-86.

84. *Acharnians* 524-529; cf. Herodotus I 4. Powell, *op. cit.*, 31-36, effectively disposes of the tradition of oral recitation.

85. I 20-22.

86. I 1; V 26; cf. I 22. For details, cf. J. H. Finley, Jr., *Thucydides* (1942), esp. pp. 75-80, arguing for a greater degree of unity and for a later date of composition than is here suggested.

87. E.g., I 23, II 65, V 26; perhaps also the speeches in Book I, and I 89-117.

88. I 1: *ὑνέγραψε* must be taken literally, it is perhaps unnecessary to observe; and the title of the book would presumably have been *Ἐννύγραφή*. Cf. Jacoby, *Atthis*, pp. 81f.

89. *Poetics* 1450 a 37.
90. III 80-82.
91. I 22; Sir R. C. Jebb, "The Speeches of Thucydides," in *Essays and Addresses* (1907), 374.
92. VI 16-18.
93. III 37-40. Jebb, *op. cit.*, 388-390, thinks this echoing of Periclean phrases less ironical than a sign that Thucydides is historically recording Cleon's superficial imitation of Periclean style. J. B. Bury, *Ancient Greek Historians* (1909), 115f, finds here, however, a covert criticism of Periclean imperialism.
94. *Op. cit.*, 112f.
95. I 140-144; II 87, 89; VI 20-23; VII 61-64, 66-68.
96. See above, p. 40, and notes 71 and 72; also Xenophon, *Mem.* I 6.14.
97. Plato, *Phaedrus* 229a-230e. N.b. 230d3: τὰ μὲν οὖν χωρία καὶ τὰ δένδρα οὐδέν μ' ἐθέλει διδάσκειν, οἳ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἄνθρωποι. And 230d8, λόγους . . . ἐν βιβλίοις, the speech of Lysias, in the light of the sequel, turns out to be a red herring; for it is the oral discussion that leads to the positive conclusions. See further *Apology* 20c-23e; Xenophon, *Mem.* I 1.11; IV 6.13.
98. Notopoulos, *op. cit.* (above, n. 28), 485f; cf. 479.
99. *Gorg.* 449a-c; 458bc; 461c-462a; 465e-466a; 519de; cf. *Rep.* 358d; 367b; for disparagement of long set speeches, cf. *Protag.* 329a, which in tone resembles *Phaedr.* 274c-277a.
100. Plato makes it clear that he *was* present at the trial, but *not* at the death of Socrates, a fact not to be minimized in dealing with the "Socratic problem."
101. For the structure and content of the *Apology*, however, see further E. Wolf, in *Neue Philologische Untersuchungen* VI (1929), and R. Hackforth, *The Composition of Plato's Apology* (1933). Stylometric tests will yield nothing on this question, though they may help in the chronological arrangement of Platonic dialogues. For my own views of the "Socratic Problem," see *Moirs* 412, 417, with references to other literature; add now W. Jaeger, *Paideia* II (1943), 17-27.
102. Plato, *Apology* 17d-18a; cf. the studied informality of "Pericles" noted above, p. 41.
103. Plato, *Epistle* VII 362ab. I accept, with most modern scholars, the genuineness of this and of several of the other letters.
104. *Theaet.* 142c-143c.
105. Aristotle, frag. 53 Rose, which contains also a similar story about the lady-philosopher Axiothea.
106. For further speculations on these points, cf. H. Alline, *Histoire du Texte de Platon* (1915), 6-10; G. C. Field, *Plato and his Contemporaries* (1931), 59-61.
107. P. 46.
108. See further below, pp. 51f.
109. J. Burnet, *Greek Philosophy, Thales to Plato* (1914), 214, 222; Burnet goes so far as to find "the central doctrine of Plato's philosophy" (the philosophy of numbers) embedded in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. This is going too far, and results from Burnet's attribution to Socrates of much that most scholars still consider Platonic.
110. Field, *op. cit.* (above, n. 106), 75.
111. Field 61.
112. Plato, *Epistle* VII 342a.
113. *Epistle* VII 341cd; cf. 344b.

114. *Pace* Burnet (see above, n. 109).
115. *Rep.* 531c-534e.
116. Cf. *Symp.* 201-212.
117. Cf. P. Shorey, *Chicago Studies in Classical Philology* I (1895), 188-239; W. Jaeger, *Paideia* II (1943), 281-288.
118. Aristotle, *Phys.* IV 2.209b15.
119. *Crito* 50a-54c; *Rep.* 423d-427a; *Politicus* 294a-d; *Laws* 719e-724b, 811c-812a, 884-888d.
120. Cf. J. Harrison, *Themis* (1912), 513, suggesting that Plato is here indebted to the mystery religions.
121. *Phaedo* 89d; *Rep.* 394d.
122. Cicero, *ad Att.* XIII 21,4; Zenobius V 6; Birt 435; Hall 28; Alline 10-14.
123. P. 47.
124. Alline 14, 27.
125. Kenyon 24.
126. W. Jaeger, *Aristotle* (Eng. Trans., 1934), 14. In what follows I am indebted chiefly to this illuminating work.
127. *Ibid.* 24.
128. Aul. Gell. XX 5.1-6; cf. Birt 435; Jaeger, *Aristotle* 32. There is a curious story (Aul. Gell. XX 5.7-12; Plut. *Alex.* VII 3) about Alexander's complaint against Aristotle for having published the "acroatic" set: "for wherein shall I differ from other men if these lectures, by which I was instructed, become the common property of all?" Aristotle's retort suggests the Plato of the Epistles: "You have written me about my acroatic lectures, thinking that I ought to have kept them secret. Know then that they have both been made public and not made public. For they are intelligible only to those who have heard me." But Aristotle was no more than Plato a willful obscurantist.
129. Jaeger, *Aristotle* 35f; 258.
130. Aul. Gell. XX 5.4.
131. Jaeger, *Aristotle* 314, 317.
132. Above, p. 48.

THE DATE OF *PAEAN* 6 AND *NEMEAN* 7 *

BY JOHN HUSTON FINLEY, JR.

THE long fragments of *Paeon* 6 for the Delphians, published in 1908,¹ greatly illuminated *Nemean* 7, in that they contained Pindar's attack on the reputation of the hero Neoptolemus — which attack was ill received at Aegina and led to Pindar's extraordinary efforts of self-exculpation in the Nemean poem. But the opening sentence of the *Paeon* prompted also a new attempt to date *N. 7*. Before 1908, the sole ground for the date had seemed to be conflicting statements by the scholiasts of Mss. B and D that Sogenes won at the 14th or the 24th Nemean festival, but these dates, 547 or 527, being both before Pindar's birth, left nothing more certain than to guess at the likeliest source of palaeographical error. By this means Gaspar² concluded that the date was 493, making *N. 7* one of the earliest of the epinicia. But Wilamowitz,³ writing soon after the discovery of the *Paeon*, noticed that the invocation to Pytho *Χαρίτεσσίν τε καὶ σὺν Ἀφροδίτῃ* resembles the opening of *P. 6*, to Xenocrates and Thrasylus,

'Ακούσατ' · ἥ γὰρ ἐλικώπιδος Ἀφροδίτας
ἄρουραν ἥ χαρίτων
ἀναπολίζομεν.

He took the verb to mean "plough again," in the sense of conscious repetition of a recent poem. *P. 6* being securely dated as 490, it followed that *Pa. 6* had just preceded, probably in the same year, and that *N. 7* came not long after. He accordingly changed the statements of date in the scholiasts on the latter, *ιδ'* or *κδ'*, to *μδ'*, or 487.⁴ This date, and evidently the reason for it, have been accepted as probable in the editions of O. Schroeder⁵ and of A. Turyn,⁶ as well as by W. Schadewaldt⁷ and the latter's reviewer in *Gnomon*, H. Fränkel.⁸ Illig⁹ and Norwood¹⁰ seem not to discuss the question; Sandys¹¹ and Puech¹² are noncommittal. Apparently only Farnell rejects both the date and the reasoning by which it is achieved. He notes¹³ that the idea of repetition in *ἀναπολίζομεν* reflects simply the ordinary practice of ploughing, that is, going over a field several times.¹⁴ Thus *ἀναπολίζω* and *ἀναπολέω* are more usual than the uncompounded verbs, and Liddell and Scott cite Hesychius, *ώραπολεῖν, τρὶς ἀροτριᾶν τὴν γῆν*. Hence the words *ἄρουραν . . . ἀναπολίζομεν* almost certainly do not

mean, as Wilamowitz would have them,¹⁵ "we again plough the field," but simply "we plough the field." If so, the sole bond between *P.* 6 and *Pa.* 6 is that both link Aphrodite and the Graces,¹⁶ slight ground for dating the latter poem and, with it, *N.* 7.

"We can only say . . .," Farnell goes on,¹⁷ "that both [*Pa.* 6 and *N.* 7] were written when Aegina was at the height of its prosperity and sea-power and when Pindar was at the height of his reputation and prestige in the Hellenic world, well-known in Aegina, the domestic poet of Delphi and Apollo, the *proxenos* of distant states, such as the 'Achaioi' of Epeiros, and one to whose public utterances great weight was attached." These statements are just. Pindar says he writes the *Paean* to avoid disappointing not only the Delphians but his own fame (ll. 10-11). The words carry consciousness of position,¹⁸ as does his pained and protesting appeal in *N.* 7, to his life of settled dignity at home and his good name among the Epirotes as their *proxenos* (ll. 64-69). His avowal of inspiration in the *Paean* and the almost sacerdotal, if, as it proved, indiscreet, zeal with which he expounds Apollo's power confirm Farnell's characterization of him as the domestic poet of Delphi. His fervor here is matched in other poems most closely by the splendid praise of the god of knowledge in *P.* 9, 42-49, and of the god of healing, music, order, and prophecy in *P.* 5, 63-69, the former composed in 474, the latter in 462. His concluding praise of Aegina in the *Paean* gives fewer suggestions of date, being appropriate, as *N.* 5 and *I.* 6 show, before Salamis, but equally so, as is clear from *N.* 3 and *N.* 4, some years after it, and even as late as 460, on the eve of the island's eclipse by Athens, when he writes of Aegina in *O.* 8 in ways especially suggestive of the *Paean*. In sum, Farnell's view that Pindar was at the height of his fame at home and abroad when he wrote *Pa.* 6 and *N.* 7 seems more tenable than Wilamowitz' characterization of the latter as an early poem marked by the poet's inability to control his "schwerflüssige Natur."¹⁹

It is perhaps a characteristic of our time to be obsessively interested in chronology and to feel that works can be understood only in their temporal development — wrongly, since major elements in the mind of Aeschylus doubtless remain constant from the *Suppliants* to the *Oresteia* and in the mind of Pindar from *P.* 10 of 498 to *P.* 8 of 446. Yet the need to understand development remains, and it is from this, perhaps ultimately minor, need that the question of the date of *N.* 7 and *Pa.* 6 takes its interest. For if these poems are not taken as early — that is, as not before Salamis or, probably, before Pindar's visit to Sicily in 476 — a considerable change in one's view of Pindar

takes place. The comparatively few early poems which would then remain — *P.* 10 (498), *P.* 6 (490), *O.* 14 (488?), *P.* 7 (486), *N.* 2 (before Salamis), and four Aeginetan poems, two just before Salamis (*N.* 5, *I.* 6) and two just after (*I.* 5, *I.* 8)²⁰ — would then appear to have certain traits in common and equally to lack certain other traits of the poems deriving from the visit to Sicily and from the great period of Pindar's art which it inaugurated, the period which extended to the years of menace and conquest of Boeotia and Aegina by Athens. These traits of the early poems are not easy to describe briefly. They are, in general: happy and uncritical admiration of the settled oligarchic life of his patrons; absence of suspicion that this way of life may be put to strain; little realization that, indeed, its beauty lies partly in the idealizing mind of Pindar himself; and hence little insistence on the power of his *σοφία* to look beyond the surface and the present to a more splendid, if less tangible, source of brightness. On this view, the early poems, simpler in subject and attitude, are simpler also in symbolism. They lack the complexity of the attempt, for example, to convey through the figures of Tantalus and Pelops the greatness, yet the peril, of Hieron's near-divinity, or to suggest in Iolaos the compatibility of Pindar's admiration for Athens with his filial constancy to Thebes.²¹ Less pretentious in symbolism and less animated by Pindar's consciousness of his gift and even his duty of inspired insight, the early poems did not rouse the antagonism of competitors or the mistrust of patrons first reflected in *O.* 2 of 476 and often thereafter. Nor do they contain the justifications of his art and method which mark the later poems.

If — on the assumption, to repeat, that *N.* 7 and *Pa.* 6 are not early poems — some such difference exists between the early poems and those composed between 476 and about 460, the difference is explicable in part by the experience, profound for a Theban, of the events of 480–479, in part by Pindar's visit to the neither wholly alien nor wholly familiar world of Sicily, in part by his maturity, and in part perhaps by a general access of confident zest following Salamis and Plataea. *I.* 5 was brilliantly interpreted by Gaspar²² to show Pindar, in the winter of 480/479, exultant after Salamis but in pious dread of the impending land-engagement in Boeotia. Slightly later, *I.* 8, in the famous passage on the stone of Tantalus, conveys his enormous relief in the victory but his almost equal distress in the plight of Thebes. Later still, perhaps about 470, *I.* 4²³ illustrates the kind of pain to which the previous ode alludes, in speaking of a family which lost four men on one day, evidently the day of

Plataea, and presumably on the Persian side, and which has only slowly restored itself (ll. 16-21). Though brief, these passages give insight into the shock of the war to Pindar's world. The *ἐλευθερία* by which he says in *I.* 8 (16) the past can be healed evidently means freedom from arbitrary authority, but it means also freedom to return to that untroubled confidence in the oligarchic life which the early poems show. Yet this return was impossible not merely to Greeks generally but to Pindar more than others, since in going to Sicily precisely at this time he met men whose achievements he was compelled by his own standards to admire, yet in whose acts of power he could not fail to see something dark. "Not even time, the father of all things," he says to Theron (*O.* 2, 14-16), "can cancel the sum of justice and injustice once committed." And on his return to Thebes he finds, as already noted, that praise of Athens can rouse suspicions of him at home. In sum, the Greek victory could not and did not bring back that secure oligarchic society — or Pindar's untroubled confidence in it — of which he wrote in *P.* 10 comparing the banquets of the Thessalian magnates to those of the Hyperboreans, and praising those who "possessed no small gift of the joyous things of Hellas" (ll. 19-20). This change of conditions and of Pindar's mood suffices to explain the difference between the early and the later poems.

A final group of odes, of which *P.* 8 is both the most certain and the best known, but to which the radiantly beautiful *N.* 8²⁴ as well as *I.* 7 and *P.* 11²⁵ almost certainly belong, tells something of Pindar's mood in the years after 458 when Aegina was occupied and Thebes threatened by Athens and when even that security of the familiar which had survived the Persian wars could seem only to have perished. It is not intended to consider these poems here, except to note that they contain Pindar's most moving and seemingly most deeply felt statements on the life of virtue and friendship and on the almost deifying, though transient, power of inspired action, which poetry alone can catch and try to hold. The famous last epode of *P.* 8 exemplifies what is meant, but hardly less the opening of *I.* 7 and *N.* 8, 35-43, concluding, "There are many uses of friends: in distresses chiefly, but joy also seeks to give pledge of itself before men's eyes." Pindar was concerned from first to last with the irradiating moment of achievement, but differently in the three periods. The early poems find it in an outward world of surrounding and visible brightness. The banquets of *P.* 10 and *N.* 5 and even the divine banquet of *O.* 14 with its more than mortal music convey the brilliant

confidence of this period. In the middle period, the irradiating power is recognized to be in part that of the poet's mind, which sees beneath the present and detects the true source of mortal achievement — achievement which is at the same time glorious in itself. *O.* 1 is an example: Hieron is indeed glorious, but his glory is rightly understood only by one who sees the gods' will as shown in the demi-gods. Pindar is now consciously the σοφός, and his poetry, itself inspired, is the fit interpreter of inspired action. In the last period, only the poetry and its inner spring in heroic feeling remain. The outward act is less meaningful for itself than as a reflection of the inner impulse of friendship, constancy, or joy, emotions which catch the god-given brightness, the αἴγλα δῶσδοτος of *P.* 8 (96). The three periods illustrate a progress from outward to inward.

II

If Wilamowitz' attempt to date *Pa.* 6 and *N.* 7 by connecting the former with *P.* 6 of 490 may be held to have failed because ἀναπολίζομεν at the opening of *P.* 6 does not, as he thought, contain the idea of repetition and hence does not allude to the *Paean*, it must be admitted that no equally exact alternative means of dating the two poems exists. A date must be achieved, if at all, on grounds of general probability such as Farnell adduced in the passage already quoted. Perhaps it is impossible to improve his statement, though from the point of view of the present writer he weakens it by saying that the poet's praise of Aegina's naval supremacy may be more appropriate just before than after 480. As suggested, the closest parallels to *Pa.* 6, 124–140 — the part of the poem devoted to Aegina — are to be found in poems of what has been called above the middle period, notably *O.* 8 of 460. Thus Δωριεῖ μεδέουσα πόντῳ νᾶσος (*Pa.* 6, 124) is paralleled by Δωριεῖ λαῶ ταμεινομένην ἐξ Αἰακοῦ (*O.* 8, 30); νανπρύτανιν δαίμονα (*Pa.* 6, 130) by κίονα δαιμονίαν (*O.* 8, 27); θεμίξενον ἀρετάν (*Pa.* 6, 130) by the whole passage *O.* 8, 20–30, on Aeginetan honor and exactitude of standards. The marriage of Zeus and Aegina (*Pa.* 6, 134–140), often alluded to elsewhere, is treated at greatest length in the still later poem, *N.* 8. But these are, of course, repeated themes in Pindar's praise of Aegina. It is not argued that the *Paean* must be as late as *O.* 8 because the closest parallels are there, but only that such praise of Aegina's, to Pindar, righteous power is not out of place even when, it is now clear, that power was waning.²⁶ After all, the Aeginetans won the award for greatest accomplishment at Salamis,²⁷ and their reputation must have been

actually, though delusively, greater after than before the battle. Just so, Thucydides says (VII 28, 3) that Sparta was widely expected to win a quick victory in the Peloponnesian war, few people being capable of appraising rightly the true basis of power.

The argument will therefore be made, not to better Farnell's excellent statement, but simply to suggest that it is more appropriate for the period after Salamis and after, perhaps soon after, Pindar's return from Sicily. There are many small suggestions to that effect. In the passage on Aegina, just considered, Pindar calls the island *φαεινὸν ἄστρον* (*Pa.* 6, 125). One thinks of the same words in *O.* 1, 6 and even of the *ἀστήρ ἀρίζηλος* of *O.* 2, 55. Again, Zeus is referred to as *τά τε καὶ τὰ τεύχων* (*Pa.* 6, 132), which recalls the similar phrase at the height of the crucial passage of *I.* 5 (52) on the coming battle in Boeotia. Later poems show the words again (*P.* 5, 55, *O.* 2, 53), but as with *φαεινὸν ἄστρον*, one wonders whether the most brilliant and functional use of a phrase, the star in *O.* 1 and the uncertain gifts of Zeus in *I.* 5, is not the first use, evoking echoes in later poems — as, for example, the whole opening of *O.* 1 is echoed at the finish of *O.* 3. Again, as noted, Pindar's self-appointed role in the *Paean* as almost the apostle of the god of Delphi is most closely matched in poems of the middle period, *P.* 9 and *P.* 5, to which might be added the devout and eloquent adjuration of the god at the end of *Pa.* 9, a poem probably dated by the eclipse of 463.²⁸

Such parallels of phrase or word could be multiplied; as is evident from Wilamowitz' attempts to connect the *Paean* with *P.* 6, some parallels extend to early poems. Even if, as seems evident, the strongest or most numerous parallels are with the middle poems, the fact would not be conclusive. What is wanted, in default of positive proof, is evidence of a major trend of Pindar's mind at a certain time — which trend, if it were seen also in the two poems in question, would create strong presumption that they also derive from that time. To use this method is of course to argue in a circle. The view of the early period sketched above depends on the omission of *Pa.* 6 and *N.* 7 from that period. Having achieved this view, to say that the two poems must therefore be later is circular reasoning. Yet the evidence for placing the two poems early was never strong. If they seem more in keeping with a later period and one accordingly wishes to place them there, does the train of argument greatly differ from that which is used, for instance, in the dating of vases or in many similar problems where exact chronology is lacking? The development of a mind or of a period is organic, and in the search for comprehension,

appeal must finally be made to some inner logic of growth. It is perhaps because this logic can be grasped only imperfectly, that our view of the past must forever change. But it changes not so much through the simple addition of new facts, as through a fresh sense of the logic of growth which new facts or new outlooks make possible.

If *Pa. 6* and *N. 7* did not exist or could be temporarily put out of mind, it would be quite clear that a series of related questions arose for Pindar at the time of his visit to Sicily in 476 and continued to concern him in the years following his return. Most of these have been suggested earlier. They are: his full sense of his own poetic powers; his realization that his abrupt, intuitive way of expounding hidden truth from heroic legends differed from the apparently more pedestrian methods of his rivals and was not always congenial to his patrons; and his consequent need to assert his powers and to defend himself either by impassioned and prayerful statements of dependence on inspiration or by outright assertions of faith in his method and criticism of his rivals. These points may for present purposes be grouped under two themes: statements of the power of poetry and statements of conflict. These will be examined in relation to *Pa. 6* and *N. 7*.

The former theme is not wholly absent from poems of the early period, though it seems different there, as if Pindar were as yet not fully conscious how peculiar his view of the power of poetry was to himself. Thus in *P. 10*, written when he was twenty, he feels in the Thessalian banquet and celebration of victory the height of mortal happiness, a moment like that enjoyed by the Hyperboreans themselves, except that it lasts for them but passes for mankind (ll. 41-44). In apprehending this brightness of the moment, he says that he brings fame to the victor and makes him *θαῖνός* (l. 58). He sees the task of poetry as purely to confer praise, the triumphs of the rich and noble being almost tangibly worthy of it.²⁹ The theme returns in *P. 6* in the figure of the treasure-house of praise which he will build for the Emmenids; similarly Athens, in *P. 7*, is a theme of glory for the Alcmaeonids. But it is notable of the former and longer statement that he goes on to no prayer for inspiration, feels no ambiguity in the power of verse, and indulges in what can be felt only as fulsome deference to Thrasybulus, whose loyalty to his father he compares to that of Antilochus. The task of poetry is again simply to praise, and one feels a certain shallowness.

The highest point of his grasp of the function of poetry in the early poems is *O. 14*, perhaps of all the odes the most limpid and

purest. It resembles the youthful *P. 10* in lifting the festal procession at Orchomenos, presided over by the Graces, to Olympus itself where the very gods reach highest joy only through the Graces. There is anticipation here of the theme of *P. 1*, the equation of the Olympians to order and order to song. Yet the very limpidity of *O. 14* seems to preclude full realization of all that the theme implies. Doubt and overstatement are absent; the poem seems an outpouring of freshest genius in the favoring atmosphere of the familiar. *N. 5* and *I. 6*, the chief remaining poems before Salamis, have much the same untroubled confidence. The former proclaims that his songs will leave Aegina on every ship.³⁰ It announces the felicity of Aegina in his recurrent symbol of highest bliss,³¹ the presence of the gods and the music of Apollo and the Muses at the marriage of the mortal Peleus with the sea-goddess. *I. 6*, again on the happiness of the radiant moment, again in the manner of *P. 10* finds the prototype of that moment in the banquet at which Heracles called Telamon to Troy and named the infant Ajax. In the opening lines, Pindar's song is the wine at the banquet. In both poems, as in the preceding, the security of tangible good fortune seems to raise no need on the poet's part to assert the inward source of his gifts. The triumphal occasions of a familiar world fully unite him with his audience.

I. 5 and *I. 8* are notable, as said, as records of Pindar's mood during and just after the great invasion, but they are notable also for the new depth which they show in the poet's sense of his function. The invocation to *Θεία*,³² author and principle of brightness, mother of the sun, with which the former opens, is in one sense only a still bolder elevation of mortal glory to its immortal paradigm, of the kind that we have seen in *P. 10*, *O. 14*, and *N. 5*. Yet it reveals also a more conscious sense on Pindar's part that his function is not merely to praise but to interpret. He sees himself as discerning and acclaiming virtue as poets from earliest times had done (l. 28). This act is consciously in part religious; the heroes receive praise and offering for Zeus' sake (l. 29), evidently in that their courage as well as their descent reveals divinity. Similarly in *I. 8* he recounts the justice of the line of Aeacus which found favor with the gods and won the supreme recognition that Peleus was chosen to wed Thetis, whom Zeus and Poseidon had desired. The child of their union was prophetically hailed before his birth for his coming courage and glory, and on his death the very Muses sang at his tomb, which heaven-sanctioned act of glorification "is even now in repute" (l. 67). It is the sanction of Pindar's own art. The deeper tone of these poems

is hardly separable from the majestic events of the years when they were written. "Cease from your quarrels," says Themis to Zeus and Poseidon. "Let her [Thetis] find a mortal marriage and see her son dead in war, though like Ares in arm and like lightning in speed of foot" (*I.* 8, 38-41). Pindar's task is no longer simply to praise the festal brilliance of victory but to convey the transient and perilous avenues to greatness, which are the only avenues allowed men by the gods. In so far as he attempts the latter task, he is consciously the interpreter of the gods' will and must claim for his art not only the precedent of the greatest poetry, but living and present inspiration.

These two claims appear most strikingly in the great period of his development which the journey to Sicily now inaugurates. It will be argued that the tone of inspiration, the bold and lofty style in handling myth, and the claims to fame of *Pa.* 6 are most fitting and most comprehensible if the poem falls in this period. *N.* 7 will then be connected with several poems of the same period, in which Pindar defends himself against attack. These attacks, it will be further argued, are in turn most comprehensible as reflecting Pindar's higher pretensions and more complex methods in these same years.

In *O.* 11, the short poem of promise for Ageisidamos of western Locri which Pindar apparently wrote just before leaving for Sicily in 476, the new emphasis is stated. He wishes to praise the victor; "yet it is equally from god that a man flowers in meditative heart" (l. 10). So in *O.* 1, Pindar hopes to celebrate Hieron's future triumphs and consort with victors (ll. 110-116), but the reason why he believes himself fitted for this high role is that he scans more than the present and sees the true and only possibilities of greatness which the gods allow. The uniqueness of *O.* 2, to Theron, as regards the views of another life which are set forth there, has often been stressed; rightly so in the sense that these do not seem to be Pindar's usual views. But in manner and attitude towards his own function, *O.* 1 and *O.* 2 are much alike. Both deal with vicissitudes and possible responses to them. Tantalus, favored by the gods, lacked the mortal humility to endure his bliss, but Pelops, on whom divine favor potentially rested, won it through recognition at once of his mortality and his courage. "Great danger lures no supine man. Since we must die, why should one hoard emptily a nameless age, crouching in the shadow, with no share ever of nobility?" (*O.* 1, 81-84). So for Theron the future will be, as the past has been for him and for his forebears, an alternation of pains and glories, the latter capable of

being won through stamina and justice out of the former, the former mysteriously ensuing on the latter. High achievement is indeed a mark of the gods' favor, but its price is recognition of the terms on which life is held and happiness won.

Pindar announces this view with scorn for those who cannot endure the praise of greatness, and who would "set secret chatter against the fair deeds of the brave" (*O.* 2, 97). Even poetry is ambiguous, and "Grace, which creates all pleasant things for man, by show of brightness makes even the incredible credible" (*O.* 1, 30-31). Time alone proves what is truth, which only the σοφός detects in the confusion of the present and the jealousy and rancor of men. Pindar speaks to those who can understand (*O.* 2, 85; *O.* 1, 112). As great acts show divine favor, so does his power to grasp and extol their beauty and meaning. The art of those who lack his gifts is labored not inspired, learned not native (*O.* 2, 86).

It is perhaps needless to dwell at equal length on the similar statements of poems of the period following his return. As has been noted, his patriotism was evidently questioned at home because of his well-known praise of Athens' brilliant part in the wars, and he replied by citing Iolaos, who had likewise once supported Athens. In introducing the passage, he makes the often quoted statement on his art (*P.* 9, 76-79),

ἀρεταὶ δ' αἰεὶ μεγάλαι πολὺμνητοι
 βαιὰ δ' ἐν μακροῖσι ποικίλλειν
 ἀκοὰ σοφοῖς · ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὁμοίως
 παντὸς ἔχει κορυφάν.

The final statement evidently covers not only the moment when virtue may be discerned and praised, but the very power to discern it. It is this latter power which Iolaos had and it is to this that the later statement looks, "praise even your enemy when in justice and with his whole heart he acts nobly" (*P.* 9, 96). The characterization of his verse as ἀκοὰ σοφοῖς resembles the statement of *O.* 2, 85, φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν. The wise will understand the depth of discernment conveyed symbolically in the brevity of the odes, and that the power thus to discern and convey truth is, to Pindar, something perilous is clear from the passionate prayer for its continuance which concludes his statement of devotion to Thebes and to poetry (ll. 87-90).

The slightly later *O.* 9, of 468 or 466, may serve as a final example both of Pindar's claims for his verse and of his almost tremulous sense of dependence on inspiration. After celebrating Opus as the

chosen city of Themis and her daughter, Eunomia, he says he will send forth his message of praise faster than horse or ship, "if through some fated power I till a garden of the Graces set apart. It is they who give all things joyous, and men are noble or inspired through the gods" (ll. 24-29). His affirmation of faith in some destiny that guides him resembles the great statement to that effect in *N. 4* (34-47), to which we shall turn presently. His sense of the mysterious power to celebrate and even to immortalize which inspiration confers — a power recognized by Sappho (fg. 58, Diehl) and Theognis (ll. 237-254) and by Pindar himself in such an early poem as *P. 6* but felt with special urgency in these years — recalls the opening of *N. 4*: "longer than the deed lives the word that the tongue draws from the deep heart by the Graces' favoring act." It recalls also the closing claim of *P. 3* (112) to that power, possessed by few, which gave renown to Sarpedon and Nestor, and the brilliant affirmation of *I. 4* (44-46), "What is well spoken goes immortal and singing. Over the fruitful earth and across the sea the flash of bright deeds passes never quenched." In *O. 9* (80-84) he joins prayer to these claims, and similarly in other poems of the period (*P. 9*, 89; *I. 4*, 47; *N. 3*, 9). "May I have invention to mount fortunate in the Muses' car, and may boldness and capacious power attend me." The word *τόλμα* is interesting. It seems to imply courage to trust that his genius will not fail at the inward moment of composition, but courage also to trust his poetry against detraction. "To conceive novelty and trust it to the touchstone for test is utter danger," he says in the somewhat later *N. 8* (21-22). The common trait of all these poems, and that which separates them from those of the early period, is their expressed consciousness of mission, which in turn implies awareness that the brilliance which he celebrates springs partly from his own insight. The earlier sense of natural and easy participation in a common happiness is largely replaced by the loneliness of the visionary, a state capable of greater illumination but subject to doubt and strain.

It is against the background of such claims for his poetry in the period, roughly, from 478 to 460 that *Pa. 6* seems most intelligible. The poem falls into four parts: a short introductory statement that, hearing the sound of Castalia without song, he has come to save from indignity both Delphi and his own fame, obeying his heart as a child its mother (ll. 1-18); then (after a lacuna of thirty verses) a transitional prayer to the Muses who alone know truth and without whose enlightenment man is helpless (ll. 50-64); then a narrative, couched

in a bold and almost hierophantic tone, of how at Troy Apollo stubbornly opposed the will of Hera and Athena and, though unable to save the city, postponed its ruin, effected through Paris the death of Achilles, and vengefully followed Neoptolemus, until at Delphi he killed him also (ll. 78-122); finally, an invocation to Aegina as queen of the Dorian Sea and an explanation of this high and righteous destiny through the union of Zeus with the nymph Aegina (ll. 123-140). The poem ends with a second lacuna of thirty verses, followed by a few broken lines which return to the festival at Delphi.

No attempt will be made here to solve the initial riddle, why Aegina should have part in a poem for the Delphic theoxenia. Wilamowitz³³ notes a possible connection between the offering which, Pindar says, is made on behalf of all Greece against famine (ll. 62-64) and the Aeginetan cult of Zeus Hellanios which Aeacus was said to have founded for the same purpose. This explanation seems the most credible. The name Zeus Hellanios is invoked at the start of the passage on Aegina (l. 125, cf. l. 62), and Pindar elsewhere alludes to Aeacus' prayers on behalf of Greece (*N.* 8, 9-12; cf. *N.* 5, 10).³⁴ But Wilamowitz discards the idea, suggesting that the connection springs from nothing more profound than that Pindar may have hired Aeginetan singers. It is not compulsory, Professor A. D. Nock suggests, to hold that Pindar gave the *Paeon* to the Delphians. On this view the opening lines should be taken as simply another statement of that devotion to the god which we have noted in *P.* 9 and *P.* 5 and for which, Plutarch tells us,³⁵ Pindar and his descendants were honored at the theoxenia. If he did not so give the *Paeon*, he may for some reason have postponed mention of his Aeginetan patrons to the end, as he did for rather special reasons in *P.* 4. Farnell³⁶ thinks that the passage on Aegina was added by way of amends, when he realized at the time of *N.* 7 how ill received his remarks on Neoptolemus had proved to be. But he several times speaks of the speed with which his poems were circulated abroad (*N.* 5, 1-5; *O.* 9, 24), and it is hard to see how he could change them effectively. The question would doubtless solve itself if we had the whole poem, and is not in any case material to the present argument.

From all that has been said so far it must be evident why the *Paeon* is taken as a poem of the middle period. The reasons for so regarding it are essentially four: the reference in l. 11 to what Pindar evidently thinks an established fame, the pretension of ll. 51-59 to inspired insight and the brief included prayer (l. 58), the sovereign tone and visionary confidence in the telling of the central myth, and

the already mentioned parallels from middle poems to the passage on Aegina. It would be repetitious to go over these points in detail. It may be replied that a young man may wishfully speak of his fame. That is true, but Pindar's tone is as of one to whom the Delphians may confidently turn and who not only from love but from reputation cannot refuse them. The passages on Apollo, noted above, from poems of this period prove that he now saw himself as Delphi's champion. This attitude in turn explains the zealous ardor of the myth. Wilamowitz rightly says that this version of Apollo's acts at Troy is not new but comes from Homer and the cycle.³⁷ But the emphasis, the deletion of all that fails to bear on the god's mighty constancy to Troy, are new. It seems impossible not in turn to connect such boldness with the new weight of symbolism which it has been argued Pindar brings to the myths of the great Sicilian poems of 476 and those of the years just following. This point leads finally to his appeal to the Muses for more than mortal knowledge. It again resembles Homer's invocation at the start of the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2, 484-493), but that is only to say, as we have already seen, that Pindar now conceives himself to be in the great tradition. Moreover, the tone of religious devotion is Pindar's, not Homer's.

The conclusion follows that after the war and after his return from Sicily, shaken from the familiar oligarchic world which was the background of the early poems and perforce conceiving for himself a new role as detector of the hidden, not merely as exalter of the visible, he boldly and in his new manner expounded in myth Apollo's power. This new manner was itself not easy for all his contemporaries. The apparent insult to Neoptolemus to which his boldness in the *Paeon* had led him raised criticism at Aegina, the greater because it was joined with dislike and misunderstanding of his verse. He is concerned in *N.* 7 with both points of criticism, with which we shall conclude.

As said, Pindar defends himself against his detractors for the first time in *O.* 2, where, after describing his poems as *φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν* (l. 85), he says that the wise man knows by natural endowment, "but those who have merely learned chatter futilely like harsh and screeching crows against Zeus's lordly bird" (ll. 85-87). Whether, as the scholiasts say, the dual of the verb looks to Simonides and Bacchylides need not concern us here. At least, the similar statements of future poems seem to imply a more widespread criticism. Nor, alluring as the question is, need it be considered at length what precisely Pindar means by his familiar contrast between gifts and

learning, nature and acquisition. Bacchylides' method, whether or not he is being attacked here, is suggestive on that score. His poems commonly fall into clear areas of description, myth, or generalization, reminiscent of decorative areas on a vase. Each area is appropriately ornamented, and the charms of grace, order, and lucidity enhance the gentle, slightly quietistic tone of the whole. The difference from Pindar's bold and allusive procedure seems to go deeper than mere difference of temperament; as if for Bacchylides, perhaps through some experience of Ionic prose and physical speculation, verse had been relegated to an essentially ornamental role, whereas for Pindar poetry and symbol were the very means of thought. If so, the difference between the two would go back largely to a difference of cultures, the one touched, the other untouched by Ionic rationalism. But however this may be, it is certain that Pindar's attack on his rivals in the poem to Theron must be taken together with the new depth of symbolism and consciousness of inspired insight, with which we have been concerned. In his anger and alarm there seems the realization, unfelt in the more confined and congenial world of the early poems, that his very life as a poet rests on the acceptance of myth and symbol as the roads to truth, roads which therefore only the visionary and prophet can traverse.

Similar statements appear in *N.* 3 (80-81), a poem usually taken as composed soon after his return from Sicily, and *O.* 9 (100-108) of 468 or 466. The prayer for poetic boldness and power in the latter has already been mentioned. The former opens with a like invocation to the Muse, his mother, from whom he asks the power of abundant speech. But by far the most interesting statement is that of *N.* 4, a poem brilliantly taken by Wade-Gery³⁸ to be one of the earlier of the three Aeginetan poems mentioning the Athenian trainer Melesias, the latest of which is *O.* 8 of 460. It therefore falls in the period which we are considering. In the review of the legendary heroes of Aegina which it contains, prominent and highly honorable notice is taken of Neoptolemus (ll. 50-53). One has the impression that further amends are being made for what was thought the insult of *Pa.* 6. If so, *N.* 7 would be earlier. But if no certainty can be had on this point, it is clear at least that Pindar has (or on the previous assumption, still has) opponents in Aegina.

In *N.* 4 he hesitates when he is about to begin the myth; then says that he is drawn as by enchantment to touch on the festival —

ἔγγι δ' ἔλκομαι ἥτορ νεομηνία θυγέμεν (l. 35).

That is to say, he cannot refrain from expounding through heroic myth and figure, in the way familiar to him, what he conceives the meaning of the festival and the victory. But he thinks at once of his detractors and says that he must counter their designs against him; he will surely emerge victorious. He goes on,

φθονερά δ' ἄλλος ἀνὴρ βλέπων
γνώμαν κενεὰν σκότῳ κυλίνδει
χαμαὶ πετοῖσιν. (ll. 39-41)

ἄλλος and γνώμαν are the interesting words. In changing to the singular from the previous plural, he seems to have in mind a specific detractor.³⁹ If so, γνώμαν would refer to the latter's verse, which is empty and uninspired and will fall to the ground. The statement seems less easy to take of general criticism which will be proved wrong. The darkness of the opponent is set against Pindar's brightness; the former's failing flight against his soaring. Whether one should read in γνώμαν that the detractor, like Bacchylides, is given to lucid but prose-like generalization, is less clear.⁴⁰ But it is certain at least that what Pindar feels the detractor most objects to in him is his own mythic and symbolic flights. For he is moved to his supreme statement of faith in himself in the great lines which Milton, a man of not wholly unlike mind, translates in the Seventh Sonnet,

It shall be still in strictest measure ev'n
To that same lot, however mean or high,
To which time leads us and the will of heav'n —

ἐμοὶ δ' ὅποιαν ἀρετὰν
ἔδωκε Πότμος ἄναξ,
εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι χρόνος ἔρπων πεπρωμένην τελέσει.

And he concludes, "Weave then, sweet lyre, in Lydian measure this song too, beloved of Oenone and Cyprus." He has regained his faith in his insight and in the symbolic myth which is his vehicle. He will therefore not falter but will treat of the festival (the earlier νεομηνία θιγόμεν) in the visionary way by which alone it has meaning to him. Underlying the criticism and the reply is the familiar antithesis between flatness and inspiration, learning and native endowment, and, one could add, orderly statement and intuitive symbol.

We come finally to *N.* 7, which is to be read then as an answer to two kinds of detraction: that which sprang from the alleged insult to Neoptolemus, and the more general kind, having to do with his

poetry, of which he had been conscious since 476. The answer, three times stated, to the former is obvious; that to the latter is persistent but subtler. The poem opens with the beautiful and moving invocation to Eleithyia, consort of the Fates, child of Hera, presence which alone guides to Hebe. Like the opening of the later *N.* 8, these verses tell of a mind which can almost sensuously see life as in the hands of forces simultaneously symbolic and living. No better expression exists of the kind of reality which Pindar naturally seeks, though here that reality is conveyed in terms of cult and the language of the *Theogony*, not of legend and heroic language.⁴¹ He goes on, in the manner of *O.* 10 (92) and *P.* 1 (93), to the familiar theme that only poetry gives fame after death. It is stated in a hard and disputed passage: only the σοφοί "know the day-after-tomorrow's wind and are not deceived by gain. Rich and poor journey together beyond death" (ll. 17-20). The problem is, who are the σοφοί: poets, the weather-wise (i.e., mariners), or men of good sense? Schadewaldt and Illig are for the first; Wilamowitz is for the second; Farnell for the third.⁴² The difficulty arises because Pindar is moving quickly through several metaphors, of storm, journey, death, and poetry, each of which casts a slightly different color on σοφοί. But the main meaning, the poet's power to give posthumous fame, is quite clear, and Pindar resumes it in speaking of the glory beyond his deeds which Homer gave Odysseus. Here we are back at the deceptive χάρις of *O.* 1 (30), and as there, poetry has this power because the majority of men are blind; whence came the wrong judgment of the great Ajax. Precisely because he thinks in symbols and figures rather than in concepts, he constantly swerves into side-meanings which are bound up, to him, with his symbols. The latter are like burrs provided with hooks that extend in all directions, on which his attention catches. Thus, though he began here with the idea of poets as conferring later fame, he has moved, through Homer, to the false fame of Odysseus and the deceptive power of words, and thence to the folly of men and the injustice done Ajax. In *I.* 4 (41-43) Homer is, by contrast, the restorer of Ajax's fame, but here, as in *N.* 8 (22-34), his mind is on ignorance and injustice, and words are thought of in their power to deceive. It is hard not to connect the passage with his own plight. That plight has to do with the misunderstanding of *Pa.* 6, to which he now turns, but, as the parallels to *O.* 1 and *I.* 4 make clear, it has also to do with a wider misunderstanding connected with poetry in general and involving popular ignorance.

But the gods vindicate true fame with time (l. 32). Here again

is a theme of *O.* 1 and *O.* 2, that of the poet as detecting truth not only from the surrounding blindness of men but from the changes of time. He goes on to retell the story of the death of Neoptolemus, emphasizing now not, as in the *Paean*, Apollo's vengeance but the god's purpose that an Aeacid should lie at Delphi, "a holy witness of sacrificial processions in honor of the Heroes" (ll. 46-47). Does Pindar feel the change of emphasis, striking to us? Perhaps he would have said that Apollo's favoring purpose towards the Aeacids had always been in his mind. At all events, here, as in the *Paean*, he speaks as an interpreter of the god and as one who sees a higher will by which pain finds meaning and injustice becomes justice. "No false witness," he concludes, meaning Apollo,⁴³ "attests the deeds of your and Zeus's offspring" (ll. 49-50). He would go on to celebrate these but, as in *O.* 2 (95-98), fears men's satiety. Hence he pauses and, turning to his patron, compliments him that fate, who gives no man perfect happiness, yet offers him this occasion of joy. "Nor does she rob your mind of sight as you take to yourself courage for things of beauty" — *τόλμαν τε καλῶν ἀρομένῳ* (l. 59). The words refer to the present occasion, and Thearion's courage is of the nature of the courage for which Pindar prays in *O.* 9 (82), that which sees with poetic vision the meaning of victorious achievement. It is also courage to stand with Pindar against detraction, and he goes on in the lines, alluded to by Farnell in the passage quoted at the beginning, to defend his own good name at home and among the very people of Neoptolemus, the Epirotes, whose proxenos he is (l. 66). "As one who drives away shadowy blame and brings, as it were, streams of water to my friend I shall praise his true fame." Farnell⁴⁴ would take *φίλον ἐς ἄνδρ'* (l. 62) of Neoptolemus, but the words are too familiar for a hero. Rather Pindar will justify in his art, as he does in his life, Thearion's support of him against his critics. The fame which he will shed on Thearion is that of the occasion itself interpreted as Pindar interprets it: a moment of golden pause, the end and crown of struggle, time when the relation between past and present, and even between gods and men, becomes visible.

The poem contains two more assurances that he had intended no ill against Neoptolemus. At one moment, he even comes near admitting fault in the religious enthusiasm of the *Paean*. "If when lifted beyond myself I shouted something out, yet I am not churlish in paying a victor glad amends" (ll. 75-76). These amends are a crown of gold, ivory, and coral. "The Muse weaves gold and pale ivory together and the lily flower which she takes from the wash of the

sea" (ll. 77-79). The complex metaphor suggests the similar crown of *N.* 8 (15) and even the frothing drink of *N.* 3 (77-78). He is aware that his poetry is elaborate and difficult. As he asserts faith in it in the great statement of *N.* 4, so now he compares it to things flashing and pale, smooth and rough, of land and of sea, which are alike only in their permanence and as materials for creation. The metaphor is perhaps as good as any for the odes of what we have argued to be the less easily confident, certainly less parochial, but more visionary and brilliant middle years between 476 and the eclipse of Boeotia and Aegina.

NOTES

* W. Theiler's masterly and illuminating *Die zwei Zeitstufen in Pindars Stil und Vers* (Schr. d. Königsberger Gel. Gess. 17, 1941, 255-290) was available to me only after this article was written. It supports (cf. esp. pp. 269-271) on slightly different grounds the dates for *Pa.* 6 and *N.* 7 which are advocated here—in specific, Hermann's date of 467 for the latter (cf. below n. 3).

1. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, V, London, 1908, no. 841.

2. *Essai de Chronologie Pindarique*, Brussels, 1900, pp. 36-42.

3. *Sitz. d. Ber. Akad.* 1908, p. 345.

4. He actually writes 485, both here and in *Pindaros* (Berlin, 1922) p. 160, but Schroeder and Turyn (see the two following notes) rightly correct to 487. Taking, as Wilamowitz does, *Ol.* 52, or 573, as the date of the first Nemean festival (Euseb. *Chronicon*, ed. J. K. Fotheringham, London, 1922, p. 179, cf. K. Hanell, *R. E.* 32, col. 2324), one gets 571 for the second, 569 for the third, 567 for the fourth, and correspondingly 487 for the forty-fourth. G. Hermann, in the edition of A. Boeckh (Leipzig, 1821, III, p. 416) had proposed the change $\nu\delta'$, or 467, which was accepted in the edition of W. v. Christ (Leipzig, 1896, p. 284). Very much this date will be advocated here. On the other hand, L. R. Farnell (*The Works of Pindar*, London, 1932, II, p. 289) finds, in the general silence of the scholiasts on the subject, proof that they lacked access to authentic records of the Nemean victors. His view carries weight. Not only is the present date, the only one given for a Nemean victor, incorrect (perhaps by corruption), but, as Wilamowitz notes (*Pindaros*, p. 160, n. 2), the further statement that Sogenes won the boys' pentathlon in the first festival after its introduction is hardly credible in view of Pindar's silence on what would have been a notable triumph. If there is any use, which Farnell justly questions, in the type of emendation considered here, Hermann's date, 467, commends itself.

5. Leipzig, 1930, p. viii.

6. New York, 1944, p. 172.

7. *Der Aufbau des Pindarischen Epinikion*, Halle, 1928.

8. VI (1930), pp. 1-20.

9. L. Illig, *Zur Form der Pindarischen Erzählung*, Berlin, 1932.

10. G. Norwood, *Pindar*, Berkeley, 1945.

11. Sir J. Sandys, *The Odes of Pindar*, London, 1924, p. 377. But his translation of ἀναπολιζόμεν, *P.* 6, 3 (p. 249, cf. below n. 12), as "once more plough" would logically put him in agreement with Wilamowitz.

12. A. Puech, *Pindare*, Paris, 1923, III, p. 94. He seems unwilling to regard *N.* 7 as either an early or a late poem; hence he approaches Farnell's view, but without clear statement. Cf. IV, p. 117, where he argues that *Pa.* 6 suggests a period when Pindar's reputation was established, and that the reference to Aegina as ruler of the Dorian sea (l. 124, cf. below p. 65) need not imply a date before Salamis. He is also in disagreement with Wilamowitz in translating ἀναπολλίζομεν, *P.* 6, 3, "nous labourons le champ" (II, p. 104, cf. below n. 14).

13. II, p. 184.

14. Xenophon (*Oecon.* 16, 14) advises frequent turning of the soil in summer both to let the sun in and keep weeds out. Similarly, Theophrastus (*De Caus. Plant.*, III 20, 7) πολλάκις γὰρ μεταβληθεῖσα μανὴ καὶ κόυφη καὶ καθαρά γίνεται τῆς ὕλης ὥστε ῥαδίως ἐκτρέφειν. In the next section, he uses the plural, "frequent ploughings." *Il.* 18. 542, *Od.* 5. 127, *Theog.* 971 have νεῖδς τρίπολος, which Farnell notes. See also s.v. Ackerbau, *R. E.* 1, col. 268 (Olck).

15. It is true, as Wilamowitz notes (*Sitz. Ber. Ak.* 1908, p. 345, n. 3), that Pindar uses ἀμπολεῖν in *N.* 7, 104 in the sense of "repeat." (So Soph. *Philoct.* 1238.) But the object, ἀρουραν, in the present passage affects the meaning. It is one thing to "turn over" (i.e., repeat) words; another to "turn over" soil. The former metaphorical usage enhances the idea of repetition, since the only way to turn over words is to repeat them; the literal usage lays less stress on repetition, which, seemingly, would be made clear only by some such word as αὖθις.

16. A slight further inconsistency in Wilamowitz' view perhaps deserves mention. He takes (*Pindaros*, pp. 137-138) the mention of Aphrodite in *P.* 6, 2, as conveying erotic feelings on Pindar's part towards Thrasybulus, which feelings returned to his mind in the later *I.* 2, 1-8. But the invocation to Aphrodite in *Pa.* 6 cannot carry this meaning; hence the connection between the poems is not easy even on Wilamowitz' own view. Farnell (II, p. 183) seems right in doubting such an interpretation. Aphrodite and the Graces stand for "the charm of poetry and the beauty of life." He cites Aesch. *Ag.* 419, ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.

17. II, p. 289.

18. Cf. Puech, *Pindare*, IV, p. 117.

19. *Sitz. Ber. Akad.*, 1908, p. 352.

20. Cf. Schroeder, *Carmina*, p. viii.

21. *P.* 9, 79-96, cf. Farnell, II, pp. 201, 208-211.

22. *Essai*, p. 62.

23. This seems hardly the place to discuss Norwood's argument (*Pindar*, pp. 172-175) against the authenticity of *I.* 3 and 4. His main point is that Pindar nowhere else conceives that a hero may fail and still be a hero. But the story of Ajax is told in *N.* 7, 24-29, with much the same purpose as in *I.* 4, 33-40, namely, in order to show that poetry can ultimately vindicate true fame. The subject is discussed below, pp. 75-78.

24. Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, pp. 406-411; H. Gundert, "Der alte Pindar," in *Mnemosynon Theodor Wiegand*, Munich, 1936, pp. 1-13.

25. For the relationship and dates of the two poems, cf. C. M. Bowra, *Class. Quart.*, 30 (1936), pp. 129-141. Schadewaldt, *Aufbau*, p. 267, questions whether the list of past Theban glories, with which *I.* 7 opens, and particularly the claim to the foundation of Amyclae (ll. 14-15), in fact confirm the view of Aristarchus quoted by the scholiast, that the poem reflects a sense of treachery by the Spartans at Oenophyta. He rightly says that a contrast between past and present is one of Pindar's usual ways (*P.* 6, 43; *N.* 6, 53) of making a transition to the immediate occasion of praise and festivity. But the first triad ends emphatically

in sadness, "but ancient gratitude sleeps and men lose remembrance" (ll. 16-17), a tone presently resumed in the lines on death in battle (27-39) and on Pindar's personal resignation to age and fate (40-42). The limiting clause with which the second triad opens, "unless joined with the sounding tides of verse, an act attain poetry's high flower," does not cancel the previous sadness. Poetry, including that of the present occasion, remains when other glories pass.

26. This point is made also by Puech, *Pindare*, IV, p. 117.

27. Herod. VIII, 93, 1.

28. Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, p. 393.

29. Small parallels of phrase suggest that Pindar knew Simonides' dirge for the Scopadai (certainly earlier, cf. Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, p. 116, n. 2): *θεὸς εἶη ἀπήμων κέαρ* (21-2), *θεὸς ἂν μόνος τοῦτ' ἔχοι γέρας* (Sim. 4, 6); *δὲς ἂν χερσὶν ἢ ποδῶν ἀρετῇ κρατήσῃς* (23), *χερσὶν τε καὶ ποσὶ καὶ νόῳ τετράγωνον* (Sim. 4, 2-3). The latter's poem on the infant Perseus (fg. 13) is not known to have been written for a Thessalian audience, but the parallel to the present poem is suggestive (on Perseus in Thessaly, cf. Farnell, II, pp. 218-219). But these connections, if real, only enhance the sense of Pindar's youthful confidence in the glory of life, by contrast with Simonides' sympathy and melancholy.

30. Schadewaldt (*Aufbau*, p. 274) feels in this opening Pindar's comparative lack of fame at this time. "So mochte er sprechen, weil er, noch nicht auf der Höhe der Anerkennung, für sich diese oder welche Form der Publikation immer wünschte." So also, p. 282.

31. Ll. 20-25. *P.* 3, 90-93; *N.* 4, 65-68; *I.* 8, 52; Fgs. 9, 13.

32. For Wilamowitz' brilliant interpretation of this passage cf. *Pindaros*, pp. 201-202.

33. *Sitz. Ber. Akad.*, 1908, p. 345. *Pindaros*, p. 134.

34. Paus. II. 29. 7 describes a relief at the entrance of the Aeaceion which depicted ambassadors from all parts of Greece appealing to Aeacus at a time of famine. On the advice of Delphi, the cult of Zeus Hellanius was instituted. (So also the scholiast on *N.* 8, 10.) Wilamowitz (*Pindaros*, p. 406) argues that the relief existed at the time when *N.* 8 was sung.

35. *De Ser. Num. Vind.* 557 F.

36. I. pp. 312-313.

37. *Sitz. Ber. Akad.*, 1908, p. 351.

38. *J. H. S.* 52 (1932), pp. 211-212. The third of the poems is *N.* 6.

39. So Norwood, *Pindar*, p. 179; Farnell, II, p. 267.

40. Norwood and Farnell (see the previous note) take *γνώμαν* to mean "art-maxims," "opinion about poetry." But it seems rather to mean actual poetry, which is to Pindar flat and dull; hence the suggestion that it deals with idea, not, as does his, with myth and symbol.

41. So Schadewaldt, *Aufbau*, p. 270, who sees in such a passage 'eine vorlogische, gestalthafte Art prinzipieller Begriffs- oder besser Ideenspekulation.' 'Diese gründet sich auf den eigentümlichen Charakter des griechischen Gottesbegriffs als der zu werthafem Sein erhöhten Wirklichkeit, hat bei Homer, in gewissen Genealogien Hesiods ihre Vorstufe.'

42. *Aufbau*, p. 300. *Form der Pind. Erz.*, p. 15, n. 2. *Pindaros*, p. 161. Farnell, II, p. 290.

43. Farnell (II, p. 296) takes the *μάρτυς* to be Neoptolemus, but it seems illogical that an Aeacid should attest the deeds of Aeacids. Wilamowitz (*Pindaros*, p. 162, n. 2) sees Pindar as the witness.

44. II, p. 298.

CORINTHIACA

BY STERLING DOW

THE first Marcus Antonius, to whom young Cicero listened with appreciation, was a soldier and statesman as well as an orator. The orations of Antonius are said to have avoided emotion and Greek refinements. Among his actions, the achievement of hauling a fleet across the Isthmus at Corinth became known to us in 1928, when Miss L. R. Taylor and the late A. B. West published with an excellent commentary some bold elegiacs inscribed on a marble excavated at Corinth. Recently T. R. S. Broughton, using these elegiacs and evidence in Cicero hitherto neglected, has enlarged our knowledge of Antonius.

In considering a gift essay for the author of the commentaries on Cicero's *De Divinatione* and (now completed) on *De Natura Deorum*, a new reading in the much-conjectured line 1 of the elegiacs came to mind. A routine inspection of the rest of the inscription showed that, although it has been edited six times, there is much to be said about each of the other lacunae also. Consequently the present offering to Arthur Stanley Pease is primarily a text — with no encyclopaedic commentary, and with nothing of the peculiar fetching quality of *Sequestered Vales of Life* — but a text which may have some interest of its own.

No one who deals with these inscribed elegiacs, however, will escape entirely a more general problem. He will begin to ponder what is the real basis for restorations in *any* verses, particularly if they are inscribed, in which case only a few verses of the author in question usually remain intact.

The nature of this problem can perhaps be made clear by arranging the lacunae in the present Latin elegiacs to show a gradation of certainty with respect to restorations. (1) To begin on firm ground, in line 7, PAVC[ei]S cannot henceforth be doubted. (2) In line 8, MAGNA[a·qu]OM·RATIONE is almost indubitable. (3) As to INVID[ea]NT in line 10, once the spacing is understood in that line, the restoration is highly probable. (4) The erasure in line 3 has been restored with a lesser, but still a reasonable degree of certainty. (5) In the middle of line 10, the lacuna is much less easy to fill, but there is a shadow of probability left when the reasoning is over.

(6 and 7) At the ends of lines 9 and 10, restorations are guesswork, though with a slim basis in logic and in two or one preserved letters. (8) Still less positive is the end of line 8: SALVT[*e·bonaa?*], which might be printed as a restoration merely because no one has thought of a better adjective. (9) At the end of line 1, finally, there is not even a happy conjecture, although new readings definitely rule out all five previous attempts.

Of the above nine gradations with respect to certainty, (1)–(3) are likely never to be doubted; (4) seems secure; (5) may some day be solved; (6)–(9) may yield interesting suggestions — the field is open — but hardly an indubitable restoration.

In contrast with instances (5)–(9), the Greek verses printed at the end of this paper show that where even slight traces can be read, those traces may cancel out conjecture altogether, to give a final word which, in place of another word once confidently but wrongly restored, will never be called in question.

It may be useful to try to state the principles to which these findings seem to point. Every smallest trace of every inscribed letter must of course be scrutinized and recorded. Measurements of the space available must be carefully established and must be heeded — with due allowance for whatever degree of flexibility is reasonable. On these principles everyone would agree.

Beyond them I venture to question much current practice, on the following basis. If a lacuna is short, and if parts of the word or words to be filled in are preserved, and especially if the lacuna can be accurately measured, some certainty can be attained. But if as much as one whole substantive word is missing (more, I mean, than an obvious preposition, conjunction, or the like), restoration is equivalent to supposing that a modern scholar can possess such insight into the genius of the language, the spirit of the period, and the mind of the original author as to be able to compose verse identical with his. To say the least, such a supposition is difficult. I concede that erudition and sympathy can work marvels in the interpretation of texts transmitted without lacunae, and that “literary” emendations have occasionally been proved to be correct. But with this qualification fully admitted (and duly admired), the restoration of ancient verses, in the sense defined above, is a mere game; its results cannot be claimed as objective scholarship. Restorations of this kind have value, but only as illustrating what *might* have been written, as raising problems of usage and of grammar, and as proving that the readings and measurements given are not impossible. That is all.¹

VI. THE LATIN ELEGIACS OF CA. 101 B.C.*

Fig. I. The earliest and on the whole the most important published Latin inscription of Corinth. Now set up in the courtyard of the new museum. The following editions have appeared:

- (1) Lily Ross Taylor and A. B. West, *AJA* 32 (1928) 9-22. This text is copied without deviation in editions (2) and (5). The commentary, still the most extensive and learned, has not been supplanted.
- (2) R. Cagnat and M. Besnier, *RA* 28 (1928, no. 2) p. 353, no. 5.
A copy of (1); no commentary.
- (3) E. Lommatzsch, *CIL*, I² Addenda (1930) pp. 739-740, no. 2662. The text includes four improvements in restoration, three of them by E. Fraenkel. The commentary quotes several apposite passages from early and classical authors which illustrate similar usages of the words, and similar sentiments.
- (4) E. Diehl, *Allateinische Inschriften*, ed. 3 (1930: *Kleine Texte*, 38/40) p. 40, no. 306.
A copy of (1); no commentary.
- (5) Allen Brown West, *Corinth, Results of Excavations*, VIII 2: *Latin Inscriptions* 1896-1926 (Cambridge, Mass., 1931) pp. 1-4, no. 1.
(3) and (4) did not appear soon enough for West to take advantage of them; hence the text copies (1), but mentions suggestions made *per litt.* by F. E. Adcock. The commentary also follows (1), with minor changes.
- (6) E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin*, IV (Loeb Classical Library 1940) pp. 132-135, no. 7.
Text follows (3) with one additional suggestion; no commentary.

In an article which seems to me excellent, T. R. S. Broughton (*TAPA* 77 (1946) 35-40) has brought to bear evidence hitherto neglected on "The Command of M. Antonius in Cilicia." He shows that the command was not limited to 102 B.C., as had been supposed hitherto, but that it extended over the years 102, 101, and 100 B.C. The passage of the Isthmus and the associated events are dated by Broughton in 101, or less probably in 100. I have made no inde-

* For help on the present section, I am grateful to Professor Lily Ross Taylor of Bryn Mawr College; to Professor Albert H. Travis of the University of California at Los Angeles, who has contributed particularly on line 9; and to Professors Herbert Bloch and J. P. Elder, and Mr. Norris Getty, of Harvard University. Professor John H. Kent, who is preparing a new volume of Corinthian inscriptions, VIII 3, has generously answered several questions after examining the stones. Professor A. E. Gordon of the University of California and his wife, Mrs. Joyce Gordon, have given me the benefit of their current research. Restorations suggested without mention of these kind and learned helpers, or of preceding editors, are my efforts.

QVOD·NEQVE·CONATVS·QVISQVANST·NEQVE[·^{o.19m.}-----]AV[^{it?}]

NOSCITE·REM·VT·FAMAA·FACTA·FERAMVS·VIREI

AVSPICIO[[·^{ant}]ONI[·^m]ARC]]I·PRO·CONSVLE·CLASSIS

ISTHMVM·TRADVCTAST·MISSAQVE·PER·PELAGVS

5 IPSE·ITER·EIRE·PROFECTVS·SIDAM·CLASSEM·HIRRVS·ATHENEIS

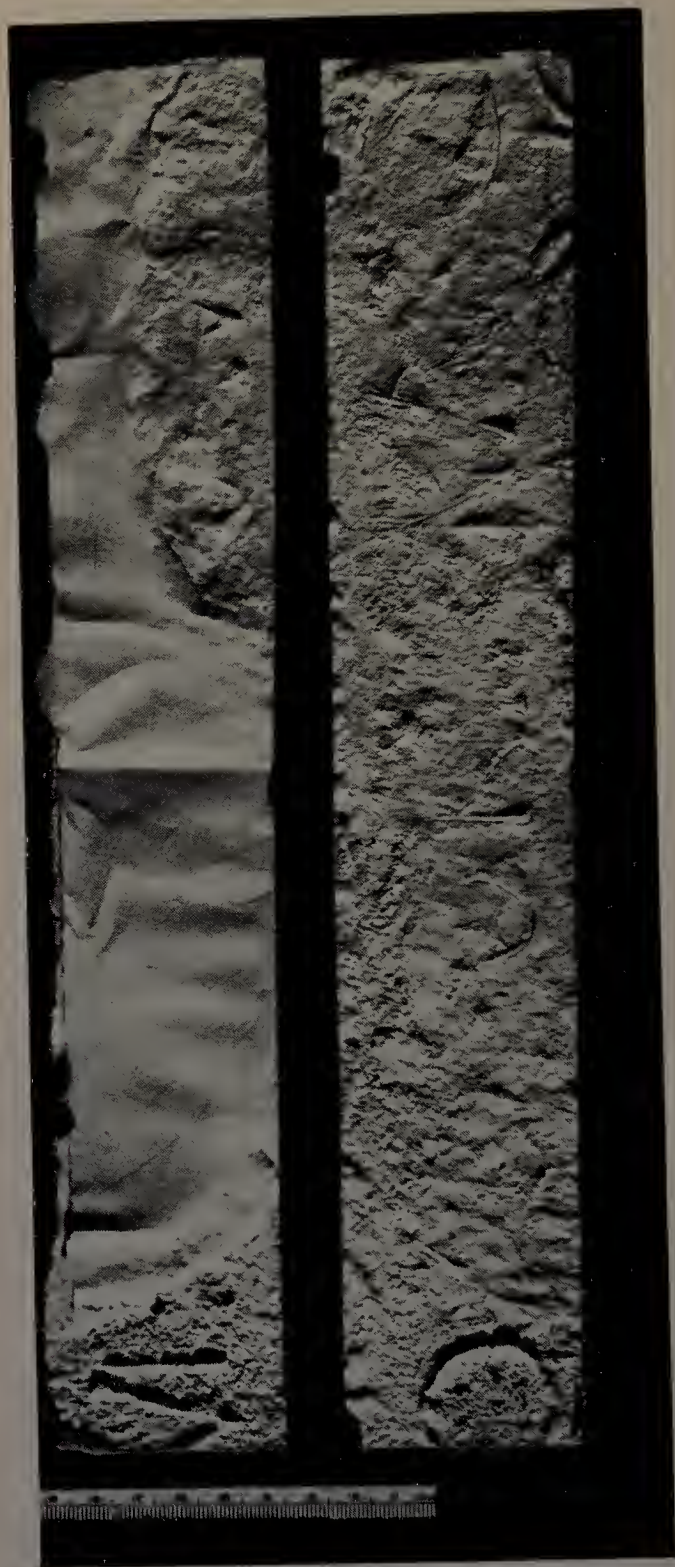
PRO·PRAETORE·ANNI·E·TEMPORE·CONSTITVIT

LVCIBVS·HAEC·PAVC[^{ei}]S·PARVO·PERFECTA·TVMVLTV

MAGNA[^{a·qu}]OM·RATIONE·ATGVE·SALVT[^e·^{o.118(-?)m.}]

Q[^u]EI[·]PROBVS[·]EST[·]LAVDA[^t]QVEI·CONTRA·EST·IN[-----]

10 INVID[^{ea}]NT·DVM·Q[^u-----d]ECET·ID[·]V[-----]



LATIN ELEGIACS OF CA. 101 B.C., DETAILS

FIG. 2. (Above) End of Line 1. Squeeze unmarked.

FIG. 3. (Below) Line 3, Erasure. Squeeze, marked where shadow would fall (the first erased O should be marked as more nearly round).

pendent investigation of the historical aspects, for which the reader should consult first the commentary on (1); cf. note 6 *infra*.

In the present article, the text has been revised, and all variants in readings and in restorations are given in the commentary; but editions (2), (4), and (5), since they copy (1), are usually not cited separately. The editions (1), (3), and (6) are cited by the authors' names alone.²

Measurements. The height of the letters varies³ between 0.029 and 0.035 m., most being close to 0.032. The difference is due to the fact that many if not all of the longer strokes were not made with one wide-edged chisel, but with the edge or the point of a short-edged chisel. The cuttings vary in width and in depth in different areas of the text, but the workmanship is very good.

Vertically, 5 lines plus 5 interspaces occupy 0.206–0.211 m. The interspace is usually close to 0.010 m.

With letters of this size, some variation in the horizontal spacing is natural, and caution must be used in estimating the possibilities for restorations in any given lacuna. Different letters of course regularly occupy different amounts of space, ranging from I (0.003 m.) to M (0.045 m. at most); but the space occupied by the same letter varies somewhat from line to line, and even varies within a line. Moreover letters which fit together, such as VM or MV, naturally take less space than letters which cannot overlap, such as AM; and an interpunct set, for example, in under a T, may occupy no extra space at all. The following measurements will give some idea of the variation as between the same groups of letters in different lines. The measurement in each case is from the outermost leftward extension of the first letter to the outermost rightward extension of the last, all interspaces being included. The figures are in the order of occurrences:

GROUPS OF CONSECUTIVE LETTERS		SPACE OCCUPIED IN SUCCESSIVE OCCURRENCES						
CLASS	0.125	0.105						
CON	0.080	0.094	0.087	0.080				
PRO	0.082	0.072	0.071	0.068				
QV	0.063	0.059	0.056	0.059	0.060	0.057	0.067	
VM or MV	0.055	0.060	0.060	0.074				

It will be noted that the amount of variation is less than 10 per cent from the mean. This amount of variation is what is normal in non-

stoichedon Greek inscriptions. In the present instance there is one exception only, the very wide VM in line 10. Line 10 as a whole is widely spaced (*infra*, p. 92). In line 3 the title PRO·CONSVLE appears to have been given extra space for the sake of prominence: the letters CONSVLE occupy 0.192 m., whereas in line 5, with two more letters, PROPECTVS occupies 0.195 m. This accounts for the longest PRO and the longest CON in the table: both are in the title in line 3. PRO·CONSVLE occupies 0.264, PRO·PRAETORE, with one more letter, only 0.259 m. CLASS in line 3 occurs in a hexameter with 36 letters in all; line 5, the line with more letters than any other line, has 47, and CLASS is naturally more crowded. Thus although the variations can by no means be explained away, they can be at least partially understood.

*Design and Lettering.*⁴ Possibly in 101 B.C. a mason could have been located in Greece who (1) knew Latin well enough, from working say in Delos, to make an accurate copy of ten lines, (2) had had so much practice with Latin letters that he could handle the spacing and shapes knowingly, and (3) was accustomed to omitting in his Latin work the serifs which he would certainly add on monumental Greek letters. But these conditions are unlikely to have been fulfilled either in (ruined) Corinth, or at the Isthmus. A large military expedition, on the other hand, would be quite likely to include stone masons, and the lettering is doubtless by one such, to whom Latin was a native language. The inscription is therefore of interest as probably giving us, what is uncommon and needed, a dated specimen of fairly early Latin inscribing.

Without attempting to analyze all its aspects, a task which belongs in a larger study, we may note first the arrangement of the body of lettering on the stone. Contrary to common Greek usage, a fair margin was established at the left (photograph in *Cor.* VIII 2, p. 1). The margin at the right is twice as wide; the mason was satisfied with an approximate, not an exact, centering of the inscription. The pentameters are so deeply indented as to run about as far to the right as the hexameters: the indentation is a good device, but again it is not faultlessly carried out, since the effect would have been better if the pentameters had been less deeply indented, that is, more nearly centered. Mrs. A. E. Gordon has kindly given me some notes reflecting her and her husband's current joint study of such matters. On the arrangement she writes:

Even before 100 B.C. there are examples that show care in placing the inscription to the best advantage (e.g. *CIL* I² 615 = VI 1307 = Dessau 16: M. Fulvius Nobilior, 189 B.C.), but the frequency of good adaptations to space increases as time goes on — i.e. I could adduce more examples from 80–60 or the 40's.⁵

Thus the design does not at present either confirm or deny the date given universally to the inscription.⁶ The lettering itself, according to Mrs. Gordon, suggests the Sullan period most, but would be admissible as early as *ca.* 100 B.C., or less probably as late as *ca.* 40 B.C.

Interpuncts separate all words but do not occur, of course, at the ends of lines. This "seems regular in all our examples [i.e. from Rome] even from the earliest period" (Mrs. Gordon). The interpuncts in the present inscription are generally triangular, which means that they were made with one point of the chisel; this is the sort of thing which is apt to reflect an individual mason as much as a general style.

Line 1. (Fig. 2.) The following restorations have been proposed:

[*concupere·ausus*], A. B. West and F. E. Adcock, in *Cor.*, VIII 2, no. 1.

[*adhuc·meditatus*], R. K. Hack, in Taylor and West; Diehl.

[*mente·peregīt*], S. R(einach), *R.A.* 35 (1932) 165.

[*post·audebit*], Lommatzsch, Warmington.

[*post·agitabit*], E. Fraenkel, in Lommatzsch.

Of these, the fourth and fifth, in the future tense, seem extravagant, since it must have been obvious that another fleet could be hauled across the Isthmus over the *diolkos* once Marcus Antonius had shown how. Lommatzsch's [*post audebit*], in addition, makes the fifth foot a spondee. The other restorations, all in the perfect tense, are more plausible.

It will be noted from the photograph of the stone (*Cor.*, VIII 2, p. 1) that the shortest proposed restoration is so long that some traces of the final letters ought to be legible on the stone where no letter has been read hitherto, but where the surface appears to be preserved after the cutting in the upper right corner. This observation proved to be justified. It was not feasible to soak the whole block in water, but cleaning with a tool removed the plaster. Parts of at least two new letters are clear. The situation in detail is now as follows (Fig. 2).

The interpunct after the second *neque* is not preserved. The first letter of the next word may have left a trace in the lower left corner

of the space, where a small depression, correctly placed but rather shallow for a stroke of a letter, might fit **A** or **M**; equally, the mark in question might be accidental. Measured from the right end of the lowest stroke of the final **E** of **NEQVE**, there is a gap of 0.19 m. to the next *sure* stroke, which is the lower end of the left hasta of an **A**. The lower end of the right hasta is also preserved. Before the left hasta of the **A** there appears a mark which might be the lower end of the right hasta of another **A** or of an **M**, or the tail of an **R**; but this trace is uncertain. After the **A**, the lower part of a **V** shows clearly. After the **V** another letter ought to show, but I failed to detect any *sure* trace. **AV**[*it*] would fit. **AV**[*sus*] requires traces of an **S** where the surface is preserved but seems to show no traces. The latter restoration may not be excluded, but the former is favored.

Since the large letters of which this inscription is composed vary in width, the number of letters missing in the gap of 0.19 m. cannot be determined precisely. In line 1, including the whole preceding interspace and the whole following interspace, **CONATVS** (7 letters plus two interpuncts) occupies 0.19 m.; and the letters **NST·NEQVE** (8 letters only, the interpunct being fitted in without extra space), including as well only the small preceding interspace, also occupy 0.19 m. It is also true that near the end of line 4, **E·PER·PELAG** measured to the middle of the **G** so as to include $8\frac{1}{2}$ letters plus two interpuncts, occupy 0.19 m. This reckoning, however, overlooks the differences between letters. Thus, without measuring interspaces, **M** by itself may occupy 0.035–0.045 m., **O** or **Q** needs 0.025–0.030 m., **C** or **G** takes 0.022–0.024 m.; whereas **E**, **P**, **R**, and **L**, for instances, fill only 0.013–0.018 m. In line 1, the letters **CON** plus the following interspace consume 0.084 m.; whereas **PEL** plus the following interspace, in line 4, requires only 0.058 m.

Returning to line 1, we may reckon:

Two interpuncts with two interspaces (minimum) . . .	0.010 m.
CON (with interspaces before and after; as in line 1) . . .	0.090
C (minimum breadth, no interspace)	0.022
IPERE (with interspaces before and after, reckoning based on shortest letters of line 4)	0.100
<hr/>	
Total needed for CONCIPERE , a minimum of <i>ca.</i> . . .	0.222 m.
Space available, subtract	— .190
<hr/>	
Excess demanded by restoration, at least	0.032 m.

This space *could* have been absorbed, by crowding, if the mason had compelled himself to do so. To judge whether there was actually crowding at end of line 1, we can measure the newly discovered A. From base to base it measures 0.029 m., whereas other A's have the following maximum breadths (interspaces not being measured); line 1, two, 0.025 m. each; line 2, six, respectively 0.027, 0.023, 0.025, 0.028, 0.027, 0.021 m. The only other A as large as 0.029 m. appears to be the third in line 5.

On grounds of spacing, therefore, the restoration *concupere* AV *sus*, though not absolutely excluded, may be dropped. Most of the statements in the other verses are sober, but it would be rash to exclude a restoration in the form

[. — ∪ ∪ .] AV [*sus*], such as [. *conicere* .] AV [*sus*]

except on grounds of accent,⁷ and in all cases on the ground of space available for the last letters (*supra*). A first-conjugation verb in the form

[. — ∪ ∪] AV [*it*], such as [. *sollicit*] AV [*it*]

would suit, but this particular verb is hardly the one, and I have not found a better. A second word might be added, e.g., as to

[. — ∪ ∪ . *put*] AV [*it*], such as [. *posse* . *put*] AV [*it*]

although the verb *puto* is unlikely; or a monosyllable, as to

[. — . *agit*] AV [*it*], e.g. [. *mens* . *agit*] AV [*it*]

but [. *mente* .] and [. *corde* .], which make better sense, are both too long. The form might be a spondee,

[. — — .] AV [*it*], such as [. *homo* . *sper*] AV [*it*]

The only other possibility for a verb appears to be

[. — ∪ ∪ . *f*] AV [*it*]

but [*fortuna*] and [*natura*] will not scan. The difficulties for some other part of speech, for instance a noun, may not be insuperable: e.g.,

[. — ∪ ∪ . *n*] AV [*is*].

H. Bloch has kindly listed for me a series of elegiac and other lines ending in *-avit* and closely related forms, taking them from F. Buecheler, *Carmina Latina epigraphica* (*Anthologia Latina*, II 1,

1895; II 2, 1897; II 3, 1926). The effect of the whole list, which has 41 items, is to show that first-conjugation verbs in the perfect active occur commonly as line-endings. Instances are: in dactylic hexameters: *saeva necavit* (422, line 10); *semperque rogavi* (452, line 3); *dira negavit* (845, line 2); *fatoque paravit* (460, line 5); *fata notavit* (531, line 2); in elegiacs, ends of hexameters: *forma probavit* (1035, line 1); *hoc condecoravit* (1076, line 7); *alma vocavit* (2099, line 13); *quam generavit* (2112, line 1).

Line 3. (Fig. 3.) The reading of the erased letters is the principal clue to the inscription. In the first publication, Miss Taylor and West printed only the final *l* in their texts but described traces of several other letters (*AJA* 32 [1928] 11); these are faintly indicated in the drawing *Cor.*, VIII 2, page 2. Two excellent squeezes, one made especially to show this erasure (Fig. 3), reveal most of the traces claimed, and add others. For the first three letters I have failed to find a sure trace of a stroke; the space is correct. Despite the intrusion of other extraneous scratches, there can be no reasonable doubt whatever as to the original text. Some extraneous vertical marks have intruded into the area of the *M*; and the space for the *·M* is about 0.010 m. greater than would be expected in view of the other *M*'s; but there is not quite enough room for [*ma*] *arci*.

Line 7. *PAVCIS* (no dots) is given in the first edition, and repeated without question in all subsequent editions, although the drawing in *Cor.*, VIII 2, p. 2 shows that the area where the *CI* should be is almost wholly eroded. Actually a glance at the photograph will show, and a squeeze will confirm, that an eroded area seems to preserve the outline of the upper half of the *C*. This curve has precisely the same spatial relation to the preceding *V* as does the *C* to the *V* of the first word in this very line, *LVCIBVS*. The *C* is therefore correctly read. Of the *I* no sure trace remains. Now in *LVCIBVS* the distance from the right-hand top of the first *V* to the left-hand upper corner of the *B* is 0.034 m., whereas in *PAV[- -]S* the corresponding distance is no less than 0.050 m. Even if the traces of the *C* were misleading—confirmed though they are, as *supra*—still the space would be too great. As it is, a space of 0.029 m. has to be assigned to *I* plus two interspaces. Elsewhere in the inscription *I* plus two interspaces occupies as little as 0.009 m., but usually somewhat more; never over 0.014 m. To restore *PAVC[i]S*, therefore, it would be necessary to resort to some such desperate expedient as admitting a

gross irregularity of spacing, or a *vitium lapidis*. Accordingly an additional letter must be inserted. The restoration, even if the space permitted any longer letters (which it does not), must undoubtedly be PAVC[*ei*]S. The letters fit exactly: El at the end of line 5 occupies 0.029 m. See also *infra*, on *Orthography*.

Line 8, first lacuna. MAGNA[*·ac·qu*]OM, Miss Taylor and West. MAGNA[*a·qu*]OM, Fraenkel in Lommatzsch; Warmington. Measurements clarify the situation:

A plus one interspace takes	0.033 at most,	0.024 at least
One interpunct plus two interspaces takes	0.012 at most,	0.005 at least
QV plus an interspace before an O in line 8 takes	0.068 at most; or	0.060 at least
Totals	0.113 at most,	0.089 at least

The space from the base of the preserved A to the O is 0.100 m., which is close to the mean (0.1025 m.) between the two extremes. If the minimum figure be adopted, leaving only 0.011 m. available for a C, the space is quite inadequate. Thus a C is excluded.

Line 8, end. SALVT[*e·simul*], Miss Taylor and West; SALVT[*e·bona*], Fraenkel in Lommatzsch; Warmington.

The letters SALVT are definitely recognizable, though the VT are preserved only at the tops. After these letters, the surface is nearly preserved at the level of the tops of the (lost) letters, but no traces appear clearly, for a distance of 0.135 m. After this in turn, the surface is perfectly preserved far enough down to establish the fact that there were no further letters. In other words, the restoration after SALVT can occupy no more than 0.135 m.; *but* the right hasta of final A might extend to the right at the (lost) bottom beyond this limit. The testing of the currently accepted restoration involves:

Interspace
E
Interpunct plus two interspaces
BONA

It so happens that several of these elements are present consecutively earlier in the line, where ONE·A occupies 0.100 m. measured to the tip of the A, and including one interspace. If we add to this B (0.011)

plus one interspace (*ca.* 0.004), we are within the limit (0.135) by *ca.* 0.020 m. The restoration SALVT[*e·bona*] is definitely not to be excluded on grounds of space. Since 0.020 m. is not too short for the *top* of an A plus one interspace, there is only a slight presumption against [*bonaa*]. See *infra*, on *Orthography*.

Line 9. West and Miss Taylor read a V (no dot under it) as the last preserved letter. I failed to verify this on the stone; my squeeze and West's drawing, which is not fully reliable at this point, show no trace whatever of the V. Apparently a break in the stone — too near the N, however, to belong to a V — was what misled West. The original restoration IN[*videt·illum*] has been kept by all editors, but Warmington in a footnote reverts to the dative, [*illei*], which had been alternatively suggested, as [*illi*], by Miss Taylor and West.

A. H. Travis, whom I quote here in the notes, has shown reasons for rejecting any restoration which by putting a verb after CONTRA EST makes *contra* virtually a predicate adjective.⁸ Instead, an adjective should be supplied; and IN[*probus*] is the first to consider.⁹ The orthography is correct,¹⁰ but the basis for INVID[*ea*]NT (in line 10) is removed. Hence IN[*vidus*]¹¹ is preferable. If IN[-----] is a dactylic adjective, line 9 must end with a disyllabic verb. Those suggested are *odit*, *carpit*, *rodit*, *mordet*, and *damnat*.¹² The latter, brought forward by J. P. Elder, is the most definite opposite to *laudat*, and Travis concludes, "All things considered, my choice would be IN[*vidus damnat*]."

Line 10, first lacuna. The restoration is by Miss Taylor and West.

It should be noted that the lacuna is certainly one or two millimetres greater than the actual measurement, since the fragment with INVID is set that much too far to the right. The next fragment, that with NT, etc., has been removed from the plaster by J. H. Kent, who reports that he studied the join, and that the fragment is correctly placed within a very small margin of error. Between the D, only a corner of which is preserved, and the NT, according to an adjusted (i.e., correct) measurement, there is more space by 0.009–0.012 m. than DEA ordinarily occupy. This amount of deviation is allowable, in view of the unusual breadth of the following VM (*supra*, p. 86).

Line 10, middle. Q[uos·cond]ECET, Miss Taylor and West; Q[uod·cond]ECET, Fraenkel in Lommatzsch; Warmington. As to readings, Miss Taylor and West hesitated before deciding for C instead of G, but C is indubitable on the squeeze, and the following E needs no dot. As to spacing, it has already been noted under line 10 that the fragment bearing the end of the phrase is set in the plaster some 0.004 m. too far to the right. The other fragments, which fix the Q, appear to be accurately placed. The correct space available for restorations, measured from the Q to the E, is 0.166 m. The accepted restoration calls for:

Interspace plus VOD	0.087 m.
(VO as in line 7, D as in line 9)	
Interpunct plus two interspaces	0.008
COND plus one interspace	0.111
(CON as in line 9; D as in line 9)	
Total	0.206 m.
Space available, subtract	—0.166
Excess space required by restoration	0.040 m.

These figures strongly suggest that the restoration is erroneous. In confirmation, one may note that the comparable sequence in line 6, ORE·CON, occupies 0.178 m. without a seventh letter, D, which is necessarily broad. A further test, namely visual inspection of Fig. 1 with attention to the letters of line 9 just above (and remembering that the squeeze shows the final fragment 0.004 m. too far to the right), will convince the observer that the restoration Q[uod·cond]ECET must be dropped. Q[uos·cond]ECET is a little shorter, but in this line of ample spacings (*supra*, p. 86), it too is excluded.

The only words from which ECET can come are the following verbs, or compounds of them (O. Gradenwitz, *Laterculi Vocum Latinarum*, second half, s.vv.): *caeco*, *-faeco*, *-graeco*, *praeco*, *-feco*, *-theco*, *neco*, *preco*, *seco*, *deceo*. Of *deceo*, which alone commends itself, the known compounds give *dedecet*, *indecet*, *abdecet*, *addecet*, *condecet*. Among these, *indecet* and *abdecet* have found favor with no one. In the indexes CIL I 2, *decet* only is found, not *addecet*. In fact *addecet* occurs only in this one form, and only in Ennius and Plautus (e.g., *matrem addecet familias*, *Merc.* 2, 3, 80); it may be regarded as somewhat unlikely until strong reason can be shown in its favor. This leaves *decet*, *condecet*, and *dedecet*.

Fig. 1 will show how much space is available. After the Q, a V will extend almost as far to the right as the V just above in line 9. Before ECET, a D will extend almost as far to the left as the N just above in line 9. The space available in line 10 is therefore only a little larger than the space occupied by EI·CO in line 9, when allowance is made for the fact that the last fragment is displaced 0.004 m. to the right. More precisely, the space available in line 10 may be reckoned as 0.023 m. larger than the space occupied by VEI·CON in line 9. The space required by the D of -d]ECET will be just about 0.023 m., but two interspaces must be allowed for in addition, together with the fact that most of line 10 is widely spaced. Thus nothing longer than VEI·COND can be restored, but definitely something *ca.* 0.010 m. shorter, requiring no more space than VE·COND would occupy. We may arrange the more obvious possibilities under this model as follows:

(VE·COND)	(Model, to define maximum length)
q[VI·COND]ecet	N. Getty, <i>infra</i> .
q[VID·ADD]ecet	
q[VOR·ADD]ecet	Too long?
q[VOS·ADD]ecet	
q[VOS·DED]ecet	
q[VID·DED]ecet	
q[VOR·DED]ecet	Too long?

It will be noted that all of the first words are interrogatives except *quos*. No one of them ought to be finally adopted until it can be proved that the indicative is proper in an indirect question, thus introduced, at this time (see *infra*, note 13). .

Line 10, end. Miss Taylor and West had V[*ideant*]. F. E. Adcock in *Cor.*, VIII 2 suggested V[*aleant*]. E. Fraenkel in Lommatzsch changed to V[*enerent*], which seems to be generally approved, but is queried by Miss Taylor (*per litt.*). In confirmation of the query, we may note that *venerari* in Republican literature is used regularly of the gods. Brief search failed to turn up any instance of its application to men or to mundane things in writings prior to Augustus.

These three words exhaust not all, but the obvious possibilities.

Lines 9-10. Toward understanding the last two lines, we may note in the whole set of verses the love of balance and contrast (lines 1, 8, 9) and of alliteration or of near-alliterative effects (lines 1, 2,

5, 7). In these lines there is a marked consciousness of words and of word-play. The verses have a sort of rhetorical, or military, order: two verses for an introduction, then six verses for the events, finally two for a conclusion.

As to the meaning, the outline at least is clear. Line 9 gives us two groups of persons, the *probi* and their opposites; and the opposites are told in line 10 that they may "be envious, provided . . ." The only other complete word is *ID*, and the first point of attack is to investigate to what "it" can refer. The reference cannot be to "this monument" or "this poem": that would be *hoc*. Instead, *ID* must either refer back to the idea in *invideant*; or refer to, and resume, the *Q[u-* clause; or refer somehow to the achievement (*rem* in line 2) detailed in lines 3-8. *ID* can be the subject or object of -]ECET, or the object of the final verb *V[- - - - -]*.

No one has been able to propose a restoration which meets all the conditions and makes good sense. The best attempt thus far is that of N. Getty, who takes *ID* to be the subject of the preceding verb. To make the reference definite, he suggests ending line 9 with *IN[videt actum]*, so that *ID* then refers to a word which reëchoes *FACTA* in line 3. *Factum* would have been preferred but for the meter; for *actum* no exact parallel has been found, but at least it would be understood. For the final word Getty accepts *V[ideant]*, on the (to me, plausible) assumption that the versifier would have liked the play on words. The remaining problem being to make the *Q[u-* clause read as the object of *V[ideant]*, he suggests *Q[ui·cond]-ECET·ID*, where *Q[ui]* is the old ablative, i.e., a relative adverb. This fits the space exactly.

Lines 9-10 then would read as follows:

*Q[u]EI·PROBVS[·]EST[·]LAVDA[t·]QVEI·CONTRA·EST·IN[videt·actum]
INVID[ea]NT·DVM·Q[ui·cond]ECET·ID[·]V[ideant]*

The meaning would be: "Whoever is upright praises, whoever is the opposite feels envy on account of the accomplishment. Let them envy, so long as they see how the feat is creditable." An obvious difficulty with this solution is the mood of [*cond*]ECET.¹³

Until this difficulty is overcome, a looser and less interesting restoration with *quos* appears to be preferable: either *Q[uos·add]ECET* or *Q[uos·ded]ECET*. Line 9 could then take the form suggested by Travis, and line 10 might mean, "Let them envy, provided whom it (the achievement) befits, this they see"; or "Let them envy, pro-

vided whom (viz. themselves) it (their envy) dishonors, this they see."

Orthography. Miss Taylor and West (p. 14) duly noted the presence of spellings associated with the doctrines of L. Accius: *ei* for *i*, and *aa* for *a*. It appeared to them, however, that the author of the verses was capricious. He wrote *virei*, *eire*, *Atheneis*, *quei* (twice), perhaps [*illei*]; but *anni*, and (so it appeared) *paucis*. With the latter established as PAVC[*ei*]S, now *anni* stands alone, except for *Antoni Marci*. Lucilius (X, 362-363) had stated that the genitive of o-stems should be in *i*, not *ei*; but the versifier evidently felt that *vir* was exceptional.¹⁴ At any rate the seeming inconsistency with regard to final *a* — with *famaa*, but *magna* — has also been removed, by Fraenkel's improved restoration, now sustained by measurements, to give MAGNA[*a*]. There remains no other inconsistency, and it can hardly be doubted that, if the adjective is the correct adjective, the spelling at the end of line 8 was [*bonaa*]. But the versifier did not go so far as to write *Maarci* nor *faumaa*.¹⁵

VII. GREEK ELEGIACS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Fig. 4 shows all of the preserved letters in B. D. Meritt, *Corinth VIII 1: Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 65-66, no. 88, lines 6-8. On the stone, lines 1-4 are completely preserved, and line 5 lacks only one letter. Lines 6-8 were damaged by the splitting of the monument into two pieces (in *Cor.*, VIII 2, p. 65, *die ungenügende Photographie steht auf dem Kopfe* — Peek).

Line 6. The restoration ἀγχ[οῦ πηγῆς] (B. Powell, *AJA* 7 [1903] 52); retained by Meritt) seems inferior to ἀγχ[όθι πηγῆς], proposed by W. Peek in *Gnomon* 9 (1933) 416, and independently by R. G. Kent in *AJA* 36 (1932) 369, who noted that it avoids a spondaic ending. The genitive with ἀγχόθι is regular (*LSJ*, s.v.). Peek also mentions ἀγχ[ὶ ῥέεθρων], proposed by M. Fraenkel, *IG* IV (1902) 1604, but that would apply better to a stream. In fact [πηγῆς] may be considered almost certain enough to print without a question mark.

Line 8. Powell's text reads εἰκόνι λα[ῖνω . . ο . κ .], but his drawing shows several other traces. "Traces of letters given by Powell (and, following him, by Fraenkel [*IG* IV (1902) 1602]) at the end of line 8 I have been unable to distinguish on the stone, and I am convinced that the restoration λαῖ[νέη] is possible, after which the stone

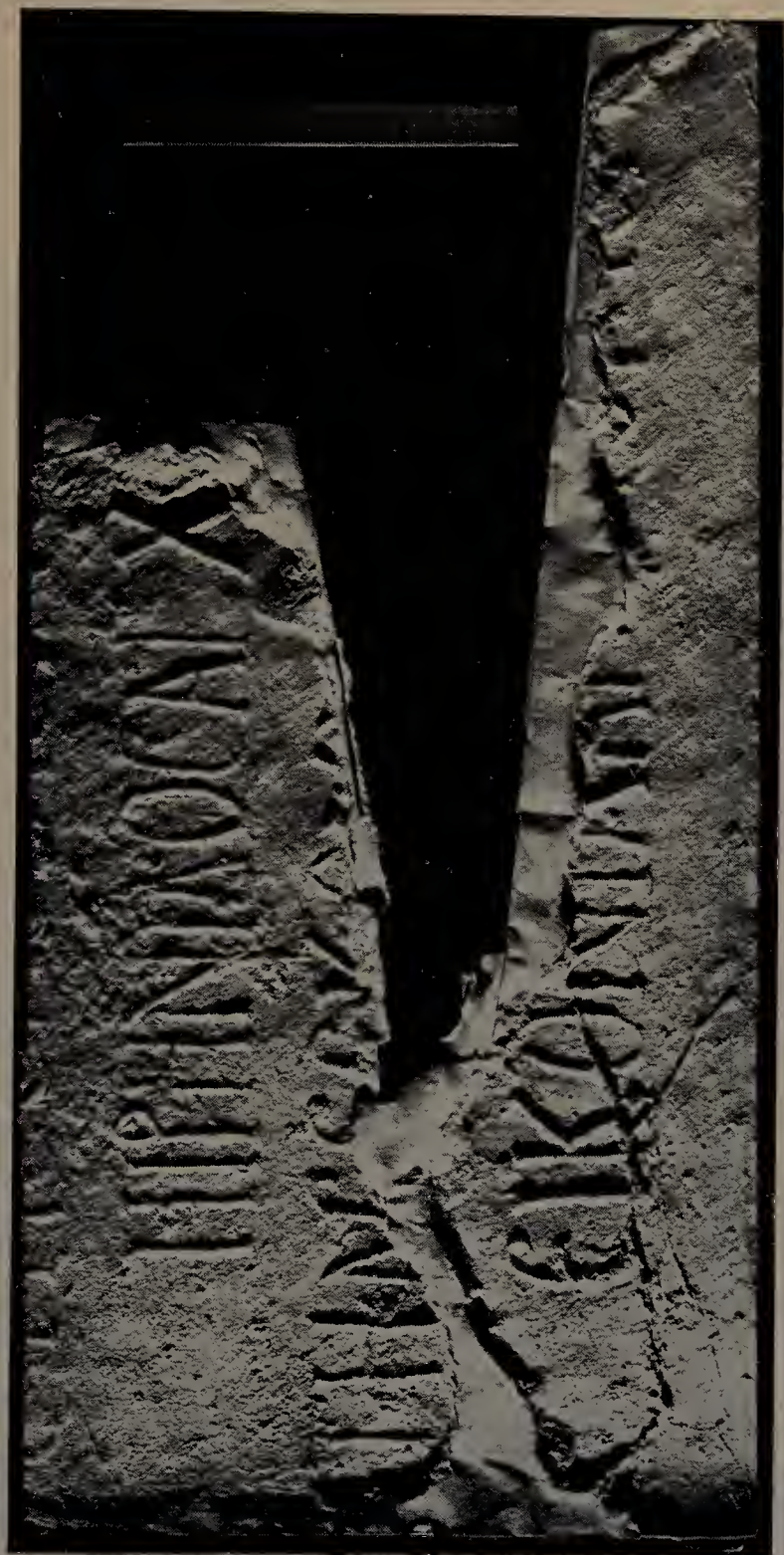


FIG. 4. *Cor.*, VIII 1, No. 88, Lines 5-8. Squeeze.

was uninscribed" (Meritt). This restoration, however, gives a tame ending for an epigram ambitious to exhibit epic diction. Traces of letters on a dark stone in the diffused out-of-doors light are easily overlooked; but in this case they are indubitably present, and a squeeze (Fig. 4) shows that only one letter has to be restored. Read $\Lambda\Delta\text{M}\text{I}\text{O}\text{M}\text{I}\text{I}////$, which in this style of lettering can hardly be anything but $\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu[\eta\langle\iota\rangle]$. This would be particularly appropriate if the statue were bronze: cf. *Il.* 22, 134, $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron$. Ancient bronze statues were often kept bright and polished, unlike ours; but even if the statue were marble (I lack notes on this point), it might still be polished. The first nu of $\Sigma\epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu[\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma]$ is partly preserved. The whole then reads as follows:

Ἀτθίδος εἰμὶ πάτρης Περικληΐου
αἶμα λελογχῶς,
Ἑρμολάου δ' υἱὸς οὔνομα
Διογένης.
5 στῆσε δὲ μ' εἰν Ἐφύρ[η<ι>]
Πιρηνίδος ἀγχ[όθι πηγῆς²]
τῇ<ι>δε Σεκουν[δεῖνος]
εἰκόνι λαμπομέν[η<ι>].
vacat
ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλῆς)

NOTES

1. Archaeology, with its propensity to exceed the evidence as to datings and attributions, has in the past been prone to guesswork as wild as that in any "literary" study purporting to discern what authors *really* thought although they did not say it, or attempting to pyramid pseudo-philosophical speculations up into a mystic *Zeitgeist*. Nevertheless there is a contrast in respect to restorations. Whereas literary studies always produce restorations if restorations are at all possible, no reputable archaeologist today would dream of restoring a nose on a statue.

Epigraphical practice seems to me to be adrift in this respect at the present time. There are three sets of problems. (1) Restorations of verse. It is these alone which are touched upon in the present paper. (2) Restorations of names. Recently there have been some astonishing instances, on a few of which I shall try to comment elsewhere. (3) Restorations of connected prose.

2. West's own copy of *Cor.*, VIII 2 is in my possession. He had entered variants from editions (3) and (4) in the margins, but no new items of his own; there are no entries against the commentary.

3. Numerous measurements are given *infra* of which I did not foresee the need when in the presence of the stone. They have been made on four excellent squeezes. It may be that some very slight shrinkage of the paper must be allowed

for in considering absolute accuracy, but the figures are all correct in relation to each other; the conclusions are not affected. Anyone wishing to "control" the figures can easily do so by a few test measurements on the stone or on another squeeze.

4. Previous editors have not dealt with the matters considered in the present section, except for a brief paragraph on lettering in *AJA* 32 (1928) 13.

5. For one kind of importance of these aspects in Greek epigraphy, particularly the indenting and centering of lines, see S. Dow, *AJA* 40 (1936) 62-67; developed and systematized in terms of his then chronology by W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archon List* (New York, 1939) 14-18.

6. The reader will recall that Marcus Antonius, the proconsul of 102-100 B.C., had a son and also a grandson who both come in question sufficiently so that independent confirmation would be welcome. In the present article, the date 101 is put down in deference to the universal agreement of authorities. A Hirrus of ca. 101 B.C. is otherwise unknown, but a Hirrus is positively known to have been associated with the grandson (Miss Taylor and West, *AJA* 32 [1928] 15-20; West, "Lucilian Genealogy," *AJP* 49 [1928] 240-252). The erasure also is isolated (West, *Cor.*, VIII 2, p. 4). Most of the other evidence certainly favors the early date, including (I suppose) the new data on Orthography (*infra*, p. 96).

7. E. Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (ed. 2, 1940), p. 184, has shown that in the last two feet of hexameters, Republican verse-writers regularly harmonize the natural stress accent with metrical ictus. Both *conciġpere* and *conicere* are therefore highly dubious on this ground also.

8. "The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (IV, 740, 66-73) lists instances in which *adiectivum vel adverbium negatur* by the adverb *contra*. The following three instances are those in which *contra* may be taken to stand for the negative idea of a predicate adjective referring to a person, as in West's text *contra* stands for the negative of *probus*: Cic. *De Inv.* I, 26: *hoc est, quod eum qui audit neque benevolum neque attentum neque docilem efficit, aut, quo nihil profecto peius est, ut contra sit, facit*; *ibid.* I, 35: *praeterea commoda aut incommoda considerantur ab natura data animo aut corpori, hoc modo: valens an imbecillus, longus an brevis, . . . comis, officiosus, pudens, patiens an contra*; *ibid.* I, 35: *in fortuna quaeritur servus sit an liber, . . . felix, clarus an contra*. It will be noted that all three instances are from a single work, some 17 years later than the inscription. No further instances (Cic. *De Off.* I, 109 does not seem to pertain) were revealed by a supplementary examination of various lexicons and *indices verborum* relating to Republican writers of the second and first centuries B.C. The three passages from Cicero's *De Inventione* constitute a minute percentage of the great number of instances in which *contra* is used to indicate opposition to a preceding idea; but they prevent us from excluding absolutely a restoration of the form e.g. QVEI CONTRA EST IN[*videt ille*]."

9. "The parallelism of *quei probus est* and *quei contra est* suggests more naturally the common usage whereby *contra* serves to place a complete syntactical unit in opposition to one of similar structure: e.g., Cic. *Tusc.* V, 16, *ergo ut hi miseri, sic contra illi beati*; Cic. *Phil.* VIII, 10 *Antoni igitur promissa cruenta, laetra, scelerata, dis hominibusque invisae, nec diuturna nec salutaria; nostra contra honesta, integra, gloriosa, plena laetitiae, plena pietatis*. If this pattern were followed in restoring line 9 of the inscription, *contra* would serve to contrast with *quei probus est* a clause consisting of *quei contra est* plus an adjective

of opposite meaning to *probus*. The one which suggests itself is the actual negative of *probus*, viz. IN[*probus*], which introduces the element of word-play and makes the parallelism more elaborate. This may well have commended the word to the versifier."

10. "The form *inprobus*, with *n* unassimilated before *p*, may properly be restored in an inscription of this period. *CIL* I², 698 is a *lex operum* which was instituted, as the text states, in Puteoli in 105 B.C., four years before the date of our poem if the latter was composed in 101 B.C. Although the extant inscription of the law was cut in the Empire, the spelling, with rare exceptions, is that of the period of the law itself (v. Lommatszsch's note in *CIL*, p. 525). The following is quoted from the text of the law (3, 10-3, 12): *Quod eorum viginti iurati probaverint, probum esto; quod iis inprobarint, inprobum esto*. In the same inscription, *inponito* appears with *n* thus unassimilated six times (1, 15; 1, 19; 2, 3; 2, 5; 2, 8; 2, 16). That the spelling found in these words is epigraphically correct for the period of the original law may be substantiated by a glance at other inscriptions of the latter part of the second century B.C.: e.g. *CIL* I², 582 of 133-118 B.C. has *inperium* twice (p. 439, lines 16, 19); *CIL* I², 583 of 123 or 122 B.C. has *inperio* (p. 444, line 5); *CIL* I², 585 of 111 B.C. has *inpulsum* (p. 455, line 21)."

11. "It may be objected that with the removal of *invidet* from line 9, nothing specific remains to give rise to the *invideant* at the beginning of line 10. A possible answer is that nothing specific is needed. The shift from the singular verbs of line 9 to the plural of line 10 shows that a break of some kind has occurred in the versifier's train of thought. A general idea of hostility at the end of line 9 might have assumed in 10 the more definite form of *invidia* as, at the same time, the singular shifted to the plural. The introduction of this idea can readily be achieved, moreover, in the form of restoration advocated in these notes by the substitution of *invidus* for *inprobus*. *Invidus* would provide preparation for *invideant*, and the shift from adjective to verb would hardly be more abrupt than the shift from singular to plural. The affinity of this word with *invideant* may well be sufficient compensation for the sacrifice of the precise contrast and the word-play afforded by *inprobus*."

12. "The question of the verb remains. J. P. Elder has suggested *damnat* (for the first instance in this sense listed by *ThLL*, see Ribbeck's *Trag. Rom. Frag.*³, p. 306 [*incerta*]), and this would seem to present a good foil to *laudat*. The final 's' of *inprobus* or *invidus* could not then make place, but this represents no difficulty since weak final 's' appears twice elsewhere in the poem where the reading is preserved (viz. line 2, *feramus virei*; and line 5, *profectus Sidam*). A passage in Cicero's *Pro Balbo* (26, 57) may be suggestive enough to warrant mention: *Quamquam istorum animos, qui ipsi Cornelio invident, non est difficillimum mitigare. More hominum invident, in conviviis rodunt, in circulis vellicant: non illo inimico, sed hoc malo dente carpunt. Carpit* (the first instance in this sense listed by *ThLL* is in Varro) and *rodit* both would do metrically. The question, as implied by Cicero's point, is whether these words have sufficient elevation and force. If the versifier was stating his case directly, they would hardly have had the right ring; if, however, he wished to belittle the detractor's action, they might have occurred to him. The problem is the same in the case of *mordet*, suggested by Terence, *Eun.* 410f: *Invidere omnes mihi, mordere clanculum*. Of *carpit*, *rodit*, and *mordet*, the first probably has least against it. It should be noted in general that a verb in final position gives

this penultimate line a stronger ending than does the pronoun (*illum* or *illei*)."

13. As to the indicative in what would ordinarily be regarded as an indirect question requiring the subjunctive, Getty notes the following passage from A. Draeger, *Historische Syntax der Lateinischen Sprache*, II [ed. 2, 1881], p. 466: "Das Altlatein wendet in vielen Stellen relativische Sätze mit dem Indicativ an, wo seit der klassischen Zeit die indirekte Frage mit dem Conjunctiv zu stehen pflegt . . . Der Relativsatz steht in der Form des Modalsatzes mit *ut, quo modo, quem ad modum* . . ." The relative adverb *qui*, close in sense to *quo modo*, would have to be understood as taking the same construction; but no actual example has been found. For the adverb *qui*, in something like the sense of *quo modo*, preceded by a form of *videre* and followed by an impersonal verb (as here), Getty notes Livy 42, 50 (in a report of a speech): *Neque hercule videre qui conveniat, fratri . . . restitisse, alienigenis cedere*. The subject as a whole was treated by E. Becker, "De Syntaxi Interrogationum Obliquarum," in W. Studemund, *Studia in Priscos Scriptores Latinos*, I 1 (Berlin, 1873) 115-314; see p. 195.

14. Datives and ablatives plural in *eis* lasted longer than is sometimes stated, even far into the Empire (F. Stolz, in Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, ed. 5 [1928], in the I. v. Mueller-Otto *Handbuch*; pp. 49, 76-77).

15. For the doubling of consonants, and particularly for *Maarcus* (frequent in Greek) see Stolz-Schmalz, ed. 5, pp. 48-49. *CIL*, Index, I 2 has only two instances of *Maarc-*.

NOTES ON SOME CONSCIOUS AND SUBCONSCIOUS ELEMENTS IN CATULLUS' POETRY

BY JOHN PETERSEN ELDER

IN the first part of this essay the writer has an axe to grind; the second part, on the other hand, is meant merely to be suggestive, and nothing more. The first section argues against the conception of two Catulluses — the one a genius who wrote the short poems with an easy inspiration and no thought of his craft, and the other the *doctus poeta* of the longer works — and instead would maintain his poetic unity throughout all his poems. The second section, recognizing however that poetic composition does indeed embrace both conscious and subconscious elements, suggests some features in Catullus' poems which may belong to the latter class.

I

The order of Catullus' poems in the manuscripts has been the subject of much discussion.¹ Did the poet himself determine this arrangement, or does it merely reflect a later compilation, perhaps no earlier than the time of Isidore? Though the question is indeed a matter of first importance in understanding how Catullus felt toward his art, it will not be dealt with here. Rather, this paper will comment on an effect which this discussion, as well as perhaps nineteenth-century romanticism, has had on our appreciation of the qualities of Catullus' poetic spirit. I refer to the division of the poems into three groups, with the coloring which such a formal division casts upon our picture of the poet. One may group the poems partly on the basis of metre and partly on length, and come out confidently with 1-60, 61-64, and 65-116, or else partly on the basis of metre and length and partly according to subject, and emerge with a tidy 1-60, 61-68, and 69-116. Then one can handily juggle about such ancillary considerations as attention to structure, amount of lyrical feeling, Alexandrian elements, and the like, and, with not too much Procrustean effort, fit these into the preconceived tripartite division. In the end, Catullus is nailed down with philological neatness, and becomes not one poet but two! On this side is the Catullus who writes spontaneously, with an effortless art and a

Rousseau-like "naturalness," pouring out his soul in faultless verse. (But it is momentarily forgotten that one cannot just state an emotion simply and directly and produce poetry. Indeed lyric poetry above all other types demands the severe, formal compression of an exacting art.) This is the *Naturbursche* who spun off the lyrics and the epigrams. But then there is the other Catullus, the one who generally is made to stand shamefully in the corner, the painfully technical composer of the long poems, the pretentious *doctus Catullus* who labored hard at structure, learned allusions, and traditional themes in the most elegant modern style.²

Such a cavalier splitting of a poetical psychology is, at the least, probably artificial and unjustified. Few poets, if indeed any, exhibit such a duality of artistic temperament. More than this, as Professor Havelock pointed out,³ such a superimposed dichotomy is harmful to sound criticism. To assume that there are two Catulluses, one an unconsciously artful poet of lyrics and epigrams, and the other a stiffly conscious pedant in verse, will certainly inhibit one's appreciation of both of these two hypothesized sections of his poetry. One cannot "partition a poet's Muse" without evil consequences. Partitioning will blind one, for example, to such elements as the elaborate artifices of the lyrics or to the lyrical and dainty rococo notes in the longer poems.

In this study it will be argued that, indeed, there are not two Catulluses, since fundamentally Catullus handles such matters as structure, allusions, imagery, and the like, in the same fashion in both short and long works. The differences that bred such an apparent but false division are actually merely differences in what the poet hoped to do in this or that poem and in what techniques he deemed suitable, and were not owing to any basic poetic fission. If, then, Catullus' aesthetic unity can be established on this score, we may then approach in Section II a more delicate dichotomy — not, perhaps, ultimately a very real one either — the question of what a poet does consciously and what, on the other hand, he unthinkingly draws from his subconscious.

To begin with the matter of the presumed two Catulluses (as opposed to the Catullus who now is a conscious artist and now works with the stuff his subconscious sends him), let us consider the structure of the poems. One is accustomed to think of the Catullus who fathered the long poems as a fairly consummate, if a sometimes obvious and mechanical, master of this technique. One recalls the elaborate balances of No. 62. And No. 63, as was recently pointed

out to me,⁴ can perhaps be broken down into such minute, counter-balancing sections as would warm the heart of the most avid searcher for recondite Alexandrianism. No. 64 needs no comment here in this regard. The architectonics, real or assumed,⁵ of No. 68 are famous: the "Chinese ball" arrangement of Allius — Lesbia — Laodamia — Troy — Brother — Troy — Laodamia — Lesbia — Allius. (For the moment one forgets the diverse elements which have here their uneasy *rendezvous* — the gobs and chunks of poetry, the outrageously long and often unclear comparisons, not to mention the ludicrous tastelessness in comparing the depth of Laodamia's love to oozy soil or possibly a drainage channel. All these lie restlessly in their proper compartments dictated by *alexandrinische Spielerei*.)

Yet the same carefulness in structure is to be seen, if we look closely, in most of the little poems. Nor need one hesitate to look closely or fear to break a butterfly upon a wheel. One is not thus violating any sanctity, save possibly that of the Temple of Ignorance. The incense and holy-water school of literary criticism which rejoices in a well-bred "charming" and forbids dissection neither educates nor stimulates. Let us look, then, at No. 46:⁶

{	Iam uer egelidos refert tepores,	
	iam caeli furor aequinoctialis	
	iucundis Zephyri silescit aureis.	
	linquantur Phrygii, Catulle, campi	
	Nicaeaeque ager uber aestuosae:	5
{	ad claras Asiae uolemus urbes.	
{	iam mens praetrepidans auet uagari,	
	iam laeti studio pedes uigescunt.	
{	o dulces comitum ualete coetus,	
	longe quos simul a domo profectos	10
	diuersae uariae uiae reportant.	

On examination, this poem is as artfully constructed as any of the Hellenistic or post-Hellenistic compositions in the *Greek Anthology* which may have consciously or subconsciously influenced Catullus in this poem. Certainly, too, for its length it is as carefully formulated as any of Catullus' longer works.⁷ It divides itself into two parts, 1-6 and 7-11, each with its own mood, with the first two verses of each part beginning with *iam*. The first part presents the general background, and hence all the proper names occur in this part. Spring is here and we shall be off. This part, in turn, divides itself into two sections, 1-3 and 4-6. The first section, 1-3, sets the stage by describing the coming of spring; the second, 4-6, ad-

dressed to the poet himself, gives with its subjunctive mood the concrete effects of the first section: the longings that spring arouses to be up and away. The mood of the second part, 7-11, is one of positive reaction to the first part. Here, too, there is a dual division, 7-8 and 9-11. Again the first section, 7-8, sets the stage by describing, this time, the general state of mind, while the second section, 9-11, addressed this time to his friends, gives the concrete effects of the first section: the departure of all the friends.

Or, to look briefly at one or two other of the short poems, let us turn to No. 45. Here there is an even more striking structural arrangement: 1-7 (Septimius), 8-9 (refrain), 10-16 (Acme), 17-18 (refrain), 19-20 (both Acme and Septimius), 21-22 (Septimius), 23-24 (Acme), 25-26 (conclusion: both Acme and Septimius). The division, then, is: 7-2-7-2 — 2-2-2-2.⁸ Or consider the function of the refrain in another poem, No. 8.⁹ As the recipient of these essays pointed out to me some years ago, lines 1-2 constitute a general introduction; then comes the refrain in 3; then 4-7 describe the happiness of the past; then comes the refrain again in 8, with its significant change,¹⁰ and 9-19 describe the unhappiness of the present. However one interpret this poem, as serious (in which case it has an interesting relationship to No. 76) or, which has been proposed, as humorous¹¹ or, as seems best to me, as fairly serious with touches of conscious humor, one thing is clear: the poem is built up upon the balancing use of the refrain so that it has the effect of strophe and antistrophe. Here there is no such mathematically exact division of the corresponding lines as in No. 45, and indeed this element of asymmetry is the usual practice with Catullus as with most ancient poets.¹² One has only to think of the irregularly recurring refrains in Nos. 61, 62, and 64. We could go on in the polymetrics to many another poem and point out the careful finish in construction, as careful a finish as one sees or may think he detects in the longer poems.¹³

Turning to the epigrams, one finds that their very form in itself encouraged obvious structural patterns which are immediately apparent.¹⁴ The alternation of the hexameter and pentameter, the poet's habit of closing the thought with the shorter line, the inherent use of antithesis, and the general tendency to anticipate the thought of the last line in the opening one — all these elements contributed heavily toward a more obvious structure, just as they must have subconsciously affected the poet's choice of this metre for the vehicle for some of his emotional expressions. Thus No. 72, to take a random

example, is clearly divided into two groups of four lines, each with its own mood — past and present, highlighted by the interplay between *nosse* and *cognovi*.¹⁵ And each of these two groups is in turn composed of two sets of two lines each. In the case of No. 76 several suggestions have been advanced for the structure of the elegy (if it be an elegy¹⁶) on the basis of moods.¹⁷ For myself the division is attractive which I find appealed to Ellis: 1-6, 7-10, 11-16, 17-22, and 23-26.¹⁸ Now this falls into the sequence of: 6-4-6-6-4. One should not press this too far; this division may well be wrong or, if right, may not be of much moment. And if it should seem correct, one can then speculate endlessly on whether the poet himself was conscious of this pattern, or whether he instinctively hit on it with that unerring sense of proportion which marks every good artist. And one can go on and on in the matter of structure in the epigrams. The upshot surely is this: any division of Catullus into two poets on the score of attention or lack of attention to structure, whether this be done consciously or intuitively, is unjustified.

The same is true, I believe, in all other respects. For example, consider the matter of learned allusions. One cannot prosaically weigh allusions or similar features and, on the sheer basis of quantity, come to any sound conclusions about a poetic temperament. Such a procedure is not criticism at all but only arithmetic. Certainly the longer poems contain many more such learned references than the shorter ones, although even here one must be careful. For it is chiefly on the basis of Nos. 64 and 68 that we ascribe this characteristic to the nine longer poems. But the fact that such a characteristic can be assigned to some poems and not to others is slim reason for postulating two poets out of one. Rather, one should ask what a poet was attempting to do in a given poem — i.e., what emotions and emotions of what sort was he trying to express — and then, what methods and techniques did he think artistically appropriate to his formal expression.

Catullan criticism, to indulge in a digression, is in a somewhat odd state. A deal of work has been done on his techniques, particularly in regard to possible parallels between the poet and Hellenistic and later writers.¹⁹ All this is helpful, indeed necessary, as Wilamowitz, Reitzenstein, Weinreich, and others have seen, for a proper understanding of Catullus' own poetic genius. One must always reckon with tradition, first and last. Therein lies the secret of a poet's appeal — his evocation of common experience in commonly understood terms — and therein lies his originality. As T. S. Eliot

observes of the poet, "he lives in what is not merely the present, but the present moment of the past," and "is conscious, not of what is dead, but of what is already living."²⁰ And this is as true of a Catullus as it is of a Dante, and may make one wonder whether poetry today does not stand in rather desperate need of a livelier sense of tradition. To return to Catullus, only by such subtraction and addition can one hope to find out the secret of his poetic genius. Yet there is danger here, too. Careful seeking for parallels may become an end in itself, and the poet is likely to become imprisoned in bulky catalogues of pedestrian notes.²¹ An ultimate consideration of Catullus' use of traditional themes and figures, in the light of his total genius, is always needed. "The first words that should be taught our students," remarked Albert Guérard, "should be the scholarly equivalent of 'So What?'"²² And it is such an attitude, I suppose, which inspired Yeats' *The Scholars*.

Against such a background Professor Havelock's study of Catullus is a welcome and much-needed relief. But he has approached the poems from only one point of view, albeit certainly the most important one: What is their poetic significance? This he finds, as his title declares, in the lyrical qualities, and he goes so far as to say: "Catullus, if he is to be read as a poet, and not simply classified and labelled like some figure in a literary museum, should be interpreted first and last as a lyrist. Even in his longer compositions, his writing becomes significant and important only in so far as it is lyrical."²³ This may be true, but the fact remains that Catullus did not look upon himself as always and only a lyrist. We should, therefore, seek to find out what a poet was hoping and trying to do in a poem — a matter of emotion — and then, what methods and techniques he thought fit and right for this purpose — a matter of artistic conventions and revolts.

A poet is indeed a rather Januslike person, facing both toward life and toward art.²⁴ The receptive aspect is here, and becomes the spirit of the poem; the creative is here too, and furnishes the blood and bones which body the spirit. Professor Havelock holds that Catullus is poetically meaningful only when he is lyrical. But this may be unfair to Catullus himself, and to his readers, since with such an inhibition we may vastly cheat ourselves. Catullus obviously experimented — dabbled, if you will, with forms and themes for the expression of all sorts of emotions. The results vary, to be sure. Still, all his emotions were not personal, save perhaps in a highly subconscious way. It may be that Catullus found the themes of Nos. 61

and 62 congenial out of some vague romanticism hovering in his mind over the figure of Lesbia. Equally, one might argue — and it is a tempting thought — that subconsciously Catullus found the subject of the *Attis* a sympathetic one, since he himself like Attis through excessive devotion to an unworthy love had forever unfitted himself for any other love. Each had lost his faith in his ideal, his *pietas*. I have even heard an interpretation of No. 64 which holds that Catullus, subconsciously musing on Lesbia in the wedding-scene, equally subconsciously identified himself with Ariadne in the other scene. On No. 68, that *Schibboleth des Catullinterpreten* as Jachmann called it, one can speculate a good deal indeed.²⁵

But, to work my way back to my point, Catullus apparently did not look upon these long poems chiefly as vehicles for his lyrical feelings. If, then, we try to find out at what he was aiming in this or that poem, we shall probably be fairer to him. And in the course of our inquiries, it will probably become apparent that, as the poet deemed some features, some "tricks of style," appropriate to the treatment of some themes, so, too, his use of these "tricks," the value he gave them, doubtless varied with his purposes. It has already been seen that the concept of two Catulluses breaks down on the score of carefulness in structure. It is my belief that such a concept will also be invalidated on the score of learned allusions, once one considers the specific aims of the poet in a particular poem.

One recalls what a regular part of the general *décor* such allusions were in pretentious Hellenistic art. Catullus lacked the smooth virtuosity of a Callimachus in this respect, just as he lacked the detachment and objectivity of a Virgil in sustaining for long a major theme with its minor notes. Yet he tried, and the results, not always happy, are well known. But too often the question of allusions in the shorter poems has been skipped over. Or it has merely been noted that his shorter works, like most in the *Greek Anthology*, have far fewer such references. The purpose of these allusions in the shorter poems deserves study and consideration in the light of the poet's aims. One or two examples will show what I have in mind:

quam magnus numerus Libyssae harenae
lasarpiciferis iacet Cyrenis,
oraclum Iouis inter aestuosi
et Batti ueteris sacrum sepulcrum. (7,3-6)

This dainty little poem is a work of dalliance. Catullus is making love to Lesbia by picking up a question which apparently she, in

archness and coquetry, had tossed to him. Whether the device of the opening question is a traditional, rhetorical one need not detain us here (see page 124 below). It is enough for the moment to note that the question is so skillfully worked into the fabric of the poem that it has all the ring of a genuine question which Lesbia had flung at him. The poem, then, like No. 51, is a poem of courtship, but the technique of courtship in this society is a delicate and sophisticated affair. The Lesbians were not only beautiful; they were intelligent, well-read, and witty, and one courted them on all counts. Hence the form of this poem, and its symbolism, are all-important. The very question itself — "How many kisses?" — has a slightly intellectual twist, and the poet can play with it and can and should be learned, too, if only his learning is never paraded for its own sake but sits lightly and is used with graceful humor, the sort of humor that often slyly peeps out in Callimachus. Only pomposity and sentimentality would be unforgivable here. In its sentiment, as in its prettiness of form, it reminds one of many an Elizabethan lyric.

The question is answered by two comparisons. The first is impressively learned — all the more so, when one considers the shortness of the line and of the poem. The other one is utterly simple and natural, despite its antiquity. It is about the first one that we shall speak here. How can one reasonably make love by at once dragging in the Libyan desert, the asafoetida-bearing district of Cyrene (with its association of foul odor), the oracle of sweating Jove and, worst, old Battus' tomb? The learning is perfectly correct. Cyrene did export asafoetida, and near by lay the shrine of Juppiter Ammon (and even a god might sweat in the desert's heat). Battus founded Cyrene. All this, then, appears to center around Cyrene. But why? One immediate answer, and the obvious and usual one, is that Callimachus not only came from Cyrene but claimed to be descended from Battus. But does such an oblique reference to even such a brilliant poet as Callimachus belong in a short love-poem? What does it have to do with Lesbia? Perhaps Catullus, whose respect for Callimachus and familiarity with his works is well attested elsewhere (for example, in Nos. 63, 65, 66, 116), is delicately weaving into this poem several arresting reminiscences from a then well-known but now lost poem of Callimachus which dealt with the same subject. Such a technique, of course, would not be similar to that used in No. 51, where the poet wishes to imply that Lesbia in some respects is a modern Sappho and therefore produces a close paraphrase. Yet, even if this guess should

seem at all likely, one still must ask what emotional use Catullus sought to make of these learned allusions.

Plainly we must try to put ourselves back into Catullus' own times, and forget that when we first read this poem all these painful references had to be looked up. Time always works against poetry in this respect. "Poetry," claims Professor Havelock, "when it makes romantic use in this way of history, legend or place-names is simply extending the range of the image-associations which it is always manipulating."²⁶ This observation has much truth to it, as countless passages in Virgil testify, or perhaps even such a Catullan line from the short poems as

Nicaeaeque ager uber aestuosae (46, 5)

where the repeated vowel-sounds create what Marouzeau called "le charme 'exotique',"²⁷ or again, in the list of far-away places in the *Phasellus* poem. But in the case of Catullus' No. 7, the romantic element is only a small part of the answer. Most of the effect of these references is, I believe, humor — the gentle, urbane humor which only a well-educated society can lightly toss about and delight in. These references are not worked in for a romantic effect; that would be an element too heavy, too serious, in such a delicate trifle as this poem. Catullus, on the contrary, is quite certain that Lesbia will smile when she reads about her kisses in connection with all these monuments of erudition. Surely she would smile at the long *lasarpiciferis* in the little line, and at the picture of a "sweating" Jove and "old" Battus. One may conjecture that subconsciously Catullus' image of the *aestuosi Iouis* appealed to him to suggest indirectly the heat of his own passion. Or one may feel that Catullus, again unthinkingly, liked his *lasarpiciferis* because its very length and sound — and note the many *s*'s throughout the poem — would somehow adequately describe the sort of kiss he had in mind.²⁸ Still, to keep to the field of the conscious, the whole passage seems to me purely a matter of humor. But then he has had enough of the sport of learning. It must not be overdone. And so he turns to images of the stars, the silent night, and the stolen loves of men, and from this second picture where stars hang as many and shining as kisses one is ultimately left with the feeling that Lesbia and Catullus are to be alone for their *furtivos amores*.

To pass to another instance, let us consider the purpose of the references in

nunc o caeruleo creata ponto,
 quae sanctum Idalium Vriosque apertos,
 quaeque Ancona Cnidumque harundinosam
 colis quaeque Amathunta, quaeque Golgos,
 quaeque Durrachium Hadriae tabernam; (36, 11-15)

in which such a grim end is proposed for the *cacata carta* of Volusius. Surely here, too, the purpose is one of humor. For all this is delightfully mock-heroic, a pleasant parody; such rhetorical features as the *quae — quaeque — quaeque — quaeque — quaeque* help to show us this. As Ellis long ago pointed out, Lesbia may indeed be parodying the vow of Pandarus to burn his bow. Catullus has perhaps twisted Lesbia's words

electissima pessimi poetae
 scripta . . . (36, 6-7)

by turning them from himself — possibly she even took them from No. 49's

gratias tibi maximas Catullus
 agit pessimus omnium poeta, (4-5)

— and applying them to Volusius.²⁹ One may trace here the influence of perhaps Sappho, Alcman, and Theocritus, but that is not enough.³⁰ In Catullus' hands these references, well-known, become part of the mock-heroic machinery, just as in the phrase *tardipedi deo* (36, 7) with its oblique reference to Volusius' limping rhythm. The whole little picture, with its ridiculously puffed up air, reminds one of many a quietly humorous passage in Horace. And surely, to propose a third example, it is again humor that moved the poet to introduce the references in lines 1a-4a of No. 55.

In general, then, one cannot find support for the concept of the two Catulluses in the field of learned allusions. There are, to be sure, many more in the longer works; but they traditionally belonged there. And his purposes varied with the nature of the poem he set out to write. Yet once his aims and methods are understood, one will not split him up on this score.

Finally, I should like to attack the concept of the two Catulluses from one more point of view. In this concept it is assumed that the Catullus who wrote the lyrics also did the epigrams, as opposed to the other Catullus who wrote the long poems. Now this presumes that there are no significant differences between the polymetrics, i.e., Nos. 1-60, and the epigrams, i.e., Nos 69-116. But is this so?

The usual view is expressed by Wheeler: "within certain rather wide limits Catullus did not regard the metrical form of his short poems as a distinction of the first importance," and "It is safe to say that Catullus regarded his little elegiac poems as not essentially different from the little poems in hendecasyllables and choliambics. It is safe to say that any of the themes which appear in hendecasyllabic or choliambic form might have appeared in elegiac form."³¹ Reitzenstein, too, was equally cautious in refusing to define the Catullan epigram by metre.³²

Wheeler, I take it, was right when he was speaking of the "themes," and certainly the force of metrical distinctions does indeed seem to have been weakening considerably since the time of classical Greek letters. But the heart of the problem, however, is the spirit and tone given the themes in this or that poem. One would like to know, for example, why Catullus chose to entrust one mood, one set of feelings, one idea, to one metrical form, and others to other forms. The sane starting point in this investigation is surely Wilamowitz' comment that Catullus did not ask whether the "rules" allowed this metre or that one.³³ But is it not a matter that transcends mere metre? Are there any notable artistic differences between the poems written in, say, hendecasyllables and those in elegiacs, differences in techniques so marked that one may conclude that, when Catullus intuitively selected this or that metre as the vehicle for his self-expression, he subconsciously selected a number of other technical elements which went automatically along with the metre?

A good deal of light has recently been thrown on this question by Svennung in his important study *Catulls Bildersprache*.³⁴ On the basis of his own investigations and many earlier ones, he has produced some highly useful facts. The metaphor, for instance, in the epigrams occurs once in every two lines; in the polymetrics, once in every four lines. (Callimachus in his epigrams employed this figure much more sparingly: once in every six lines!) Then the epigrams vary a good deal more in their length than do the polymetrics. The former range from two to twenty-six lines (if one may count No. 76 in this group); the latter average about fifteen lines. Then there are such obvious differences as in the use of diminutives (seven words used in nine cases in the epigrams, but about fifty words used in about seventy cases in the polymetrics), of colloquialisms (plainly much commoner in the polymetrics), of antithesis (naturally much more frequent in the epigrams), and of compound adjectives (only one in the epigrams, *sesquipedalis*, in No. 97, 5, and that was common

enough to appear in Caesar; ten instances, on the other hand, appear in the polymetrics). Further, while the epigrams reveal only five *hapaxlegomena*, almost fifty occur in the polymetrics.

This whole matter needs further study.³⁵ But certain conclusions seem obvious even now. The chief one is that Catullus was highly conscious of the traditional elements in the epigram, and, in certain respects in his epigrams, is closer to his usage in the longer poems, whereas in his polymetrics he was far more easy-going and informal. What, in turn, might this imply? Possibly that sometimes he felt that he could best satisfy his need for the expression of some emotion by "packaging" it in the more disciplined, severe form of the elegiac couplet than in the more fluid polymetrics, and so he instinctively chose that form. One would certainly expect him to realize the value of such a compressing, balancing, exacting mold. Still, as was said before, we need a careful investigation of the relation of form to emotional tone in Catullus' shorter works. For the moment, it is safe at least to say that evidence of the sort that Svennung has collected strongly argues against the old concept of the two Catulluses.

II

If, then, we have rid ourselves of this concept, perhaps this discussion may now turn to another division which would seem to have more validity — that of the role of the conscious and of the subconscious in poetic creation. But let us go back for a moment. Earlier it was said that a poet has a Januslike quality. He looks both toward life and toward art, and his creations inevitably reflect this duality. He draws upon his own intense living for an experience to crystallize into a poem, and yet the act of formal composition demands a strict attention to his craft. And the finished product is no exact and faithful reproduction, but only a series of attempts, of suggestions. The entire business is a rather mystical one, and in this sense indeed a poet, to be a good one, needs to be a bit "divinely mad."

For first, the poet deals with matters that themselves lie in the twilight of uncertainty. His subjects are not just ideas or descriptions or arguments or summaries of facts, or even the account of a feeling, but all of these and more — in short, everything that is rolled up in that elusive word "experience," whose fragments may lie high in our consciousness or be buried deep in the mind's subconscious caverns. But in any case, since a poem is a recreation of all that is implied by "experience," we should doubtless agree with MacLeish that in the end

A poem should not mean
But be.

Moreover, poetry is also inexact for another reason: the poet cannot describe everything — not even the most ardent Naturalist would aim at this — but must pick and choose items which, with luck and intuition, may perhaps express what he has in mind. But even then, he can only hope to suggest. And in his chief means of suggestion, i.e., in his images and arrangements of words, there is no precision. Further, language is a proud, individualistic, and living thing, as Humpty Dumpty quite rightly pointed out to Alice, and tradition has freighted words for each of us with many strange powers. If one tries to pluck out the heart of poetic mystery, at once it is plain that both the conscious and subconscious elements nestling there must be considered.

And then there is the other aspect of the poet's act of creation, his attention to his craft, his virtuosity, if you will. He may know that this or that image or collocation pleases him and is "right," — and that is the ultimate consciousness of a poet, to reject or approve — but he might never be able to tell you why he chose this or that. Indeed, he might simply tell you that he had succeeded in "getting together with himself." The part of the subconscious in this act of creation was vividly described by E. M. Forster:

What about the creative state? In it a man is taken out of himself. He lets down, as it were, a bucket into his subconscious, and draws up something which is normally beyond his reach. He mixes this thing with his normal experiences, and out of the mixture he makes a work of art. It may be a good work of art or a bad one — we are not here examining the question of quality — but whether it is good or bad it will have been compounded in this unusual way, and he will wonder afterwards how he did it.³⁸

But some qualifications should at once be offered. First, there should be no illusions about our ability unerringly to put our finger on what is conscious in a poet, and on what came up in Forster's bucket, even though Lowes' discoveries about Coleridge inspire much hope.³⁷ Then — and this is intimately connected with the first qualification — it is not meant to be implied here that the conscious and the subconscious are in any ultimate opposition. In the final act of creation their products are, I take it, intimately fused, and that "fifth essence" which hovers over a poem — its "tone" or "color" — is the child of the union. As was said before, the conscious usually

presides over the wares brought up out of the storehouse of the subconscious, examines, tests, casts out, and accepts. There is no basic quarrel here between the conscious and subconscious — a new version of the battle between the One and the Many. But in studying immediate sources and the ways of a poet in creation, it will possibly be helpful to keep such a duality in mind.

Finally, one should be on his guard against assuming too hastily that what looks like an element from the subconscious is not, in fact, the result of highly conscious craftsmanship. This point has already been touched upon in Section I. A poet, for example, may either like what he once did and do it again and again, or he may consciously cultivate a striking pattern of phraseology.³⁸ For example, Catullus' habit of addressing himself may not be an egocentric reflection of his subconscious at all, but a device for emphasis and realism which he found a handy one. Or his habit of beginning a poem with a question and answer, or with a command, or with a condition, on which more will be said anon, may not innocently reflect the way his mind works, but may have struck him as a useful technical device. So he used it over again. Take, as an instance, Horace's habit of inserting, half or three-quarters of the way through an ode, the personal clause beginning with *me*.³⁹ Here particularly one suspects, as usually in the case of Horace, that the poet simply liked this usage. And so, perhaps, with the fateful *nequiquam*, *quoniam* with which Lucretius begins some of his most effective lines.⁴⁰ Or Virgil's fondness for starting a verse with *it*, *fit*, or *stat*.⁴¹ Were they really unaware of such repetitions? Anyone who thinks, to take another case, that Joyce created his strange verbal combinations by putting together fragments in his own subconscious had best think again. As Edmund Wilson points out in his essay on Joyce, these combinations represent the most conscious, objective art — Joyce's careful attempt to supply the subconscious with what it does not have, a language.⁴²

With these qualifications in mind, let us turn to possible subconscious elements in Catullus' verse. First, the matter of sounds deserves attention, then other types of imagery, then structural patterns, and finally the domain of temperament and tastes.

Lowes broke down the first line of Collins' *Ode to Evening*,

If aught of oaten stop, or pastoral song,

into the pattern of its consonant sounds, and discovered that it went: f-t-f-t-(n)-st-p-r-p-st-r-(l-s-ng).⁴³ Lowes much doubted, as I suppose we all should, that Collins consciously designed such a mathematical

pattern, with its effective range of sounds. If we turn to Catullus' No. 76, and to the line which, above all, carries the theme:

difficile est longum subito deponere amorem, (13)

one finds here, too, a pattern of considerable effectiveness. *Subito*, the key, occupies the mid-position; six syllables — *difficile est longum* — precede it, and six follow — *deponere amorem*. Each of these two groups of six syllables ends with a syllable containing *o* and one ending with *m*, the liquid *par excellence* of sadness.⁴⁴ And each group begins with *d*, and each group has the cohesion of elision. Thus the thought of each group is bound together in a fairly perfect balance and contrast. No one, surely, would assume that Catullus consciously worked this out, but that rather he knew, when it had come out, that it was what he wanted. So, too, it might seem a bit too much to believe that Catullus deliberately sought all the liquids in

uae factum male! uae miselle passer,
tua nunc opera meae puellae
flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli. (3, 16-18)

although the artist in him, that is, the conscious arbiter in aesthetics, surely told him that the sounds which had come forth were "right" for the expression of this particular emotion. Or consider in No. 1 the final syllables of each line: *libellum* — *expolitur* — *solebas* — *nugas* — *Italorum* — *cartis* — *laboriosis* — *libelli* — *virgo* — *saeclo*.⁴⁵ These fall into the pattern of: a-a-b-b-a-c-c-d-e-e, and even the "d"-element, *libelli*, is reminiscent of the "a"-element, *libellum*. Again, one may well doubt that Catullus planned this; rather, it would seem that he was satisfied with the neat framework which he had unthinkingly but instinctively erected.

On the other hand, a great many repetitions in Catullus may surely be classified as conscious. In this category belong the refrains, the lines that begin and end the same poem,⁴⁶ such stock phrases as

non harum modo, sed quot aut fuerunt
aut sunt aut aliis erunt in annis (21, 2-3)

(with their variations),⁴⁷ key words within the same poem (especially when in the same metrical position),⁴⁸ and such obvious, intentional juggling as

unam Septimios misellus Acmen
uno in Septimio fidelis Acme (45, 21 and 23)

or

*Dianae sumus in fide
 puellae et pueri integri:
 Dianam pueri integri
 puellaeque canamus. (34, 1-4)*

Here, too, belongs a significant word carried over from one poem to another, like the *identidem* of No. 11, 19 and No. 51, 3, or a phrase carried over, like the important *meae puellae*, or a whole line (with perhaps slight variations) like

amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla (8, 5 and 37, 12)

with its memorable wealth of *a*'s and *m*'s. It would seem such repetitions of sound are as consciously aimed at as, say, the recurrent symbols in Yeats, and have something of the same effect. And here, perhaps, belong most of the rhetorical repetitions (*geminatio*, *epanalepsis*, *paronomasia*, *anaphora*, *epiphora*, etc.), although one cannot always be sure that Catullus, by such repetitions, was not subconsciously emphasizing his own strong emotions. Doubtless other types will occur to the reader which deserve to be included in this class.

But then, between the sound-effects which appear to have been unconscious on the poet's part and those which appear equally surely to have been deliberately devised and manipulated, there lies a large no-man's land, into which we now perhaps may venture. Still, as was remarked before, one enters with considerable temerity. Yet in many instances it would seem clear that a poet is not managing the sounds, but that actually a sound may be leading him about by the nose. Thus in No. 8 it would seem likely that *puella* is in some occult way responsible for the *nulla* and *bella* and perhaps even *labella*. Indeed, this poem offers such interesting instances that the last part of it merits quotation here: ⁴⁹

sed obstinata mente perfer, obdura.	11
uale, puella. iam Catullus obdurat,	
nec te requiret nec rogabit inuitam.	
at tu dolebis, cum rogaberis nulla.	
scelesta †ne te†. quae tibi manet uita!	15
quis nunc te adibit? cui uideberis bella?	
quem nunc amabis? cuius esse diceris?	
quem basiabis? cui labella mordebis?	
at tu, Catulle, destinatus obdura.	19

Is it, perhaps, going too far to suggest that the last line, for example, was actually compounded, for the most part unthinkingly, out of bits of the previous ones? The *at tu* would have been subconsciously suggested by the *at tu* of line 14, the *destinatus* by the *obstinata* of line 11, and the *Catulle* — *obdura* by *puella* — *obdurat* of line 12. And surely there is some relationship between *inuitam* of line 13 and *uita* of line 15, and between *dolebis* of 14 and *basiabis* and *mordebis* of 18, just as there is between *uideberis* of 16 and *diceris* of 17. Yet, to be entirely subjective, the repetitions of *obdura* in various forms seem to me intentional and an entirely conscious matter, since this is a dominant theme. On the other hand, the *a*-endings (sometimes the *-lla*-endings) of lines 11, 14, 15, 16, and 19 may be a subconscious matter. At all events, although no two might ever agree on just what in this composition emanated from Catullus' subconscious mind and what was consciously sought and worked over, probably all would agree that in spots here sounds are indeed leading the poet along willy-nilly. So, too, in No. 4, 24 in the phrase *limpidum lacum*, perhaps one word suggested the other, albeit one cannot easily distinguish egg from chicken. So, possibly, with *lepidum nouum libellum* (I, 1). Even, perhaps, with the wary Horace we may see in the *Odes* similar cases: *dulce decus* (I, 1, 2) or, with unconscious balance and contrast, *mercator metuens otium et oppidi* (I, 1, 16) or *Motum ex Metello consule civicum* (II, 1, 1), and suspect that a sound in a word already acceptable had indeed prompted a word conjoined with it. Similarly, to continue for a moment with Horace, one thinks of the considerable amount of internal rhyme in his lesser asclepiads. And Bailey, speaking of Lucretius' repetitions of phrases, notes that "Sometimes words which he had already written seem to stay in his mind and come out in the same collocation in a quite different context; — This semi-conscious running of phrases in the poet's mind may sometimes be adduced to determine the text of a doubtful passage: —." ⁵⁰

These suggestions at once prompt other digressive considerations. First, one remembers the fondness which early Latin writers show for repetitions of sounds, and one allows for this innate characteristic of the language. This, in turn, leads to the matter of tradition. From Ennius onward, the literary tradition of alliteration, assonance, and the like, had indeed great force, and Miss Deutsch in her study, *The Pattern of Sound in Lucretius*, while pointing out how much more skillfully Lucretius and Catullus employed their sound-effects than

had Ennius or Cicero, was doubtless right in concluding that "the many forms of repetition — cannot be entirely unconscious." ⁵¹

This mention of the force of tradition suggests another aspect of the whole matter which also should be noticed: apparent echoes of one writer in another. ⁵² Here, again, in many cases we can unhesitatingly call the echoes conscious ones, as in Virgil's tribute to Lucretius (*G. II*, 490-492). ⁵³ But what is one to say of Virgil's

Inuitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi (*A. VI*, 460)

in relation to Catullus'

Inuita, o regina, tuo de uertice cessi, (66, 39)

especially when one considers the taste involved in thus mingling hair and hero. ⁵⁴ Was this consciously done, and are we to call it artful handling, nay even a compliment? Or are we to say that Lucretius in *III*, 154-156 was consciously imitating Sappho (or Catullus)? ⁵⁵ To turn to the cases of Lucretius and Horace, it would indeed appear that Horace was consciously recalling Lucretius'

iuuat integros accedere fontis
atque haurire (*I*, 927-928)

when he wrote his

O quae fontibus integris
gaudes, (*Odes I*, 26, 6-7) ⁵⁶

but what, if anything, can one say of Horace's *frigus amabile* (*Odes III*, 13, 10) beside Lucretius' unimportant and apparently not particularly memorable *manabile frigus* (*I*, 534)? If there be any connection here, surely it is an unconscious one. On the other hand, Horace's

o et praesidium et dulce decus meum (*Odes I*, 1, 2)

may be somehow bound up with Lucretius'

praesidioque parent decorique parentibus esse (*II*, 643).

But how? Perhaps it has a direct connection, or perhaps the poetic processes are more devious. The preceding line in Lucretius contained the phrase *patriam defendere terram*. If Horace's first ode was written after *III*, 2, with the latter's

dulce et decorum est pro patria mori (13)

then possibly the connection was: *patria* to *decorum* to *decori* to *praesidio* and then to line 2 of the first ode.⁵⁷ If this case seems shaky, one is perhaps on surer ground when dealing with Horace's

cedat uti conuiua satur (Sat. I, 1, 118)

and recalling Lucretius'

cur non ut plenus uitae conuiua recedis (III, 938).

Obviously Horace had Lucretius' line in mind, but why *satur* instead of *plenus*? We must turn ahead a few lines in Lucretius to

quam satur ac plenus possis discedere rerum (III, 960)

and one may guess that the collocation *satur ac plenus* (with the suggestive *discedere*) caused him probably unconsciously to make the substitution.⁵⁸

Now let us turn to two poems and briefly examine what may be the conscious and unconscious elements out of which they are compounded. First, No. 107:

Si quoi quid cupido optantique optigit umquam
 insperanti, hoc est gratum animo proprie.
 quare hoc est gratum †nobis quoque† carius auro
 quod te restituis, Lesbia, mi cupido.
 restituis cupido atque insperanti, ipsa refers te 5
 nobis. o lucem candidiore nota!
 quis me uno uiuit felicior, aut magis ab dis
 optandum in uita dicere quis poterit?

In a close study of this poem, Van Gelder rightly points out that the words in the first clause fairly trip over each other.⁵⁹ Catullus has more to say than the words can express: the "if"-element, then the fulfillment, and finally reverting to the longing, he adds the tag *insperanti*. The rest of the poem tries to work out the superabundance of thoughts in the first clause. Hence line 5 (with its *restituis* from line 4) takes its *cupido* from line 1, and then the tag *insperanti* which was practically an afterthought in line 2 (as a mere amplification of the *cupido optantique*) now comes to his mind and shoves out the *optantique*. Finally, the *ipsa refers te* is a mere repetition of the *restituis*, as if the poet had to repeat it to believe it — as if he were truly *insperanti*. The *si umquam* has become the "now." As for the *optantique* of line 1 which was defrauded of its to-be-expected place in line 5, it pops up in the end of *optandum*.

Now much of this type of repetition would appear to be the work of the subconscious, although some certainly is conscious as the poet deliberately itemizes problems and answers. But it is not wholly of the formal, antithetical sort which one often associates with the epigram, like the lines of No. 70:

Nulli se *dicit mulier* mea nubere malle
 quam mihi, non si se Iuppiter ipse petat,
dicit: sed *mulier* cupido quod *dicit* amanti,

or the repetitions in Nos. 78 or 86 or 87. Neither does it resemble the gently insistent recurrences of the masculine *-um*, which has all the earmarks of conscious work, in No. 34:

montium domina ut fores
 siluarumque uirentium
 saltuumque reconditorum
 amniumque sonantum: (9-12)

— a technique carried to its artful extreme in the hands of such modern poets as Hopkins or Edith Sitwell.

But the role of the subconscious in proposing sound-combinations merits exploration on another score — the degree to which the sound may either suggest the meaning of the words or groups of words, or may serve as a sort of theme-note throughout a poem.⁶⁰ The onomatopoeic element needs no detailed study here; nor, of course, should one forget that in a large number of cases poets consciously strove for this effect. But the matter of a sound's acting as a major note reintroducing in subtle fashion the theme does deserve some notice. Thus in No. 46 (given in full on p. 103) the two themes are spring and travel. The opening words bring in this note at once: *Iam uer*. Perhaps it is not utterly fanciful to see in the *-er* sound a subconscious association with "spring." Then one observes that this theme-note recurs in *refert*, *ager uber*, and finally in full form in *diuersae*, as well as, in reverse form, in *refert* and *reportant* (lines 1 and 11). This sort of imagery is in its way as effective as the more obvious sort seen in the sympathetic *uigescunt* (even their feet grow green with spring). Then the second theme — the blowing of the spring breezes with its suggestion of ships and home — may be represented in the *-u* (*w*) sound, as in Horace's

Soluitur acris hiems grata uice ueris et Fauoni (*Odes* I, 4, 1).

So in No. 46 one remarks this note in *uer* itself, in *uolemus*, *auet uagari*, *uigescunt*, *ualete*, and in the charged *diuersae uariae uiae* which, with its homoeoteleuta, asyndeton, and the three conflicts between word accent and metrical ictus (i.e., a three-heterodyned verse), certainly adds considerable emphasis.

So far we have been dealing with sound. Now let us pass to a few other types of imagery in which the subconscious may have played a leading role. One which immediately comes to mind is that of color. Catullus outstrips Virgil, Horace, and Ovid in his use of one color (red), — and one must bear in mind that the ancients had no such wealth of words for distinguishing shades as we do — and he even outstrips the natural spectrum itself.⁶¹ If one wishes to avoid the word "subconscious," one may call this a natural expression of Catullus' temperament, just as one may deal with Pindar's "golden." It is all one and the same. On the other hand, save in the line

tincta tegit roseo conchyli purpura fuco (64, 49)

where the colors progressively deepen, Catullus does not appear to have employed his hues with, say, the conscious artistry of Virgil in the Aristaeus-episode where the first scene gives us bright and splendid colors, the second one grays, and the final tale of Orpheus and Eurydice is swathed in deep black.⁶²

The part of contrast and balance in the arts needs no description here. Every work of art that is worth its salt displays both qualities — balance, if it is to be art and not a mere jumble, and contrast, if it is to be interesting. One sees it in the relation of the idea to the image, of consonants to vowels, of past to present, of one line to the next, and so on. It is this that Coleridge had in mind when, speaking of the Imagination, he said: "This power, first put in action by the will and understanding, and retained under their irremissive, though gentle and unnoticed, control, *laxis effertur habenis*, reveals itself in the balance or reconciliation of opposite or discordant qualities: of sameness with difference,"⁶³ and surely some of the elements that constitute this "sameness with difference" are products of the subconscious. Consider the use of light and dark in imagery. Nothing could be more traditional, more trite, than the use of such contrast. Yet the creative artist may keep these traditions in his subconscious mind, and when he has used the image of light, that of the dark may follow almost automatically and without conscious thought. When Romeo in the first balcony scene says:

O, she doth teach the torches to burn bright!
 It seems she hangs upon the cheek of night, (I, 5, 46-47)

perhaps both the rhyme and the unconscious instinct to balance light with dark prompted the "cheek of night," just as in the opening lines of Richard III:

Now is the winter of our discontent
 Made glorious summer by this sun of York;
 And all the clouds that lour'd upon our house
 In the deep bosom of the ocean buried,

"winter" may have brought forth from the subconscious realms the answering "summer" and the element of darkness prompted the element of light, with "summer" unconsciously sponsoring "sun." Indeed, in the case of Lucretius, who makes heavy use of light and dark, one may even be able to discover not a little bit about the subconscious workings of that strange mind.⁶⁴ So, trite and threadbare as are the figures of the *soles* and *nox* in Catullus' No. 5,⁶⁵ much here may have come out of Forster's "buckets" from the subconscious. The theme is *Viuamus*. What image will effectively body that idea? Suns, the sun of life, the source of warmth.⁶⁶ But the poet at the same time wishes to express the idea that Nature can renew her rhythms and pulsations — a favorite image with Horace — but that man cannot. He must die. *Nox* may have suggested itself to the poet as the answer — an answer over which he spent no conscious labor — since here is light and dark, life and death, and the permanence of Nature and the impermanence of man. And similarly we might look at the elaborate comparison in No. 68, 57-62. If one believes that this simile refers to Catullus' tears (rather than to the help which Allius gave him), then perhaps one might argue that the subconscious is again at work, leading the poet unthinkingly from water (tears) to water (stream). Yet the very elaborations within the comparison may suggest nothing so much as the most conscious, if tasteless, craftsmanship.⁶⁷

Now, in our exploration into the possible operations of the subconscious in poetic creation, we might turn to the large sphere of the poet's entire temperament — his tastes, standards, general outlook, and his consequent habits of thought and expression. Within this field, let us first look at the way in which a poet orders and arranges his material. For aspects of his presentation will surely be the result of conscious effort; yet other aspects, equally surely, will unconsciously reflect the poet's nature.

Thus Catullus strikes the reader at once as a direct poet, who proceeds in an a-b-c-d fashion. Horace, on the other hand, is as obviously devious. In the latter's poems, in fact, one often waits until well in the work before a somewhat shy and brief statement of the "theme" appears. Before that, we move from image to image, person to person, place to place. Not that he has the deviousness of a Donne, who could compound poetry out of hypotheses and conditions. But Horace contrasts strikingly with Catullus. Lucretius, on the other hand, also uses the direct method save that, as Büchner has demonstrated, he can suspend his thought with a digression for twenty or thirty lines — and this is not a reference to the consciously poetic passages — and then return with aesthetic complacency to his general thought.⁶⁸ And as for Virgil, Henry long ago called attention to his fondness for lingering over a theme and his tendency to restate it several times before dropping it.⁶⁹

Two matters relating to structure in Catullus' poems seem interesting enough to merit brief notice here. Each, of course, may be a consciously manipulated device. But one might sooner guess that each unconsciously reflects the way in which the poet's mind worked.

The first is Catullus' tendency to state his theme at the start of a poem, in contrast with a Horace, as Keats contrasts in this respect with a Wordsworth. Then comes the imagery which bodies that theme and makes the poem poetry. And this habit, naturally, contributes greatly to the feeling of directness which his poems breathe. This initial expression of the theme may be a direct statement or a question and answer or an exhortation or a downright command, or, which may be of interest to students of Catullan psychology, a condition. In any case, in itself it can rarely be called poetry and must wait for the imagery, that is, the concrete, to support the abstraction. So

Viuiamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus

depends on the subsequent imagery of suns and night; so the

Quaeris, quot mihi basiationes
tuae, Lesbia, sint satis superque

must wait for the two images, just as Shakespeare's

Shall I compare thee to a summer's day? (Sonnet 18)

or Mrs. Browning's

How do I love thee?

must wait for the answer, cast in images, or T. S. Eliot's prose-like opening of *Burnt Norton*:

Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future,
And time future contained in time past

only becomes poetry when we come to the imagery of:

Footfalls echo in the memory
Down the passage which we did not take
Towards the door we never opened
Into the rose-garden.⁷⁰

Now the poem has life and power.

The second structural matter to which we now pass and which, in its logical, reflective order, adds to the effect of simple directness and realism is Catullus' habit of opening his poem with a question and answer,⁷¹ or with a statement, or with a condition,⁷² and then with an introductory *nam* giving the reason, and finally closing with the conclusion introduced by a *quare*. The first poem illustrates this sequence: first comes the question and answer (*Qui dono* etc., with the reply *Corneli, tibi*), then the reason (*namque tu solebas* etc.), and finally the conclusion (*quare habe tibi*, etc.). So in No. 6, note the *nam* in line 12 and the *quare* in line 15; in No. 21 the *frustra: nam* in line 7 and the *quare* in line 12; in No. 23 the *nec mirum: bene nam* in line 7 and the interrogative *quare* in line 15; in No. 35 the *nam* of line 5 and the *quare* of line 7; in No. 44 the *nam* of line 10 and the *quare* of line 16; in No. 69 the *neque mirum: nam* of line 7 and the *quare* of line 9. Finally, even No. 76 shows the same pattern: *nam* in line 7 and *quare* in line 10.

These eight poems illustrate the pattern in its fullest form. But no less than at least twenty-four other poems reveal the same basic pattern with such variations as a *quod*-clause for the *nam*-clause,⁷³ or an *at* for *quare*,⁷⁴ or the omission of one of the conjunctions, or the omission of one of the three sections.⁷⁵ Upon such evidence we may fairly, it would seem, call this a dominant structural pattern with Catullus, rather like the pattern (with variations, of course) which one sees in the Lucretian sequence of: *principio* — *tum porro* — *denique* — *quin etiam* — *postremo*. Like the Lucretian pattern, the Catullan lends his writing the effects of directness and of logical reflection.

Now comes the question: is this a conscious device of style, that is,

a traditional, rhetorical element, or a subconscious matter, a reflection of the poet's general temperament and outlook, revealing the way in which his mind proceeded between "I, Catullus," and someone or something else.⁷⁶ Can one perhaps guess that Catullus' own immersion in physical sensation explains quite adequately such a note of realism, of directness, so that in most of his shorter poems medium and matter are well-nigh perfectly synthesized?

This question is difficult to answer, since so little is left of earlier collections of lyrics which in many respects must have served Catullus as models. Only bits of such early masters as Archilochus or Alcaeus remain, and we are even worse off when it comes to such Hellenistic lyrics as those of Callimachus.⁷⁷ Most of the lyric wealth of Meleager's *Garland* was apparently lost to us when that collection was woven into the later ones. As for the short poem in Latin before Catullus, again there is only a small amount, and most of that is in elegiacs. Laevius alone appears to have made a collection entirely in lyric metres, and here too the fragments are too brief to be of much help. The upshot is that, rich as we are in our knowledge of elegiac production from the fourth century up to Catullus' own time, we are lamentably ignorant about the history of the short lyric during this critical period. One gets, then, little light on this structural peculiarity of Catullus by examining the scanty remains of his predecessors. Nor do other Latin authors before Catullus, whether writing in poetry or prose, show this pattern in such a marked way within such definite limits that we may come to any conclusions about Catullus' usage of it on this score.⁷⁸

In such ignorance one can only guess. My own conjecture would be that this was an unconscious habit of his, a matter of psychology, reflecting more his own mind and its ways than any stylistic characteristic of predecessors. As was said before, this pattern is both direct and reflective. That fact, along with others, should remind us that Catullus doubtless owed a great deal more to the classical poets of Greece than we, with our eyes glued too close on Hellenistic productions, are often likely to remember. The debt includes imitation — and Professor Hendrickson has thrown a good deal of light on Catullus' obligation to Archilochus — but it surely was also a debt of general spirit and outlook.⁷⁹ Thus Catullus displays much of the quick but reflective tone of such an elegist as Callinus, and this pattern of statement, cause, and conclusion is merely a mechanism for the expression of the same elements of reason, logic, and persuasion that characterize the best writers of Greek elegiac, lyric, and even

melic poetry. Like Archilochus, he expressed love and hatred without inhibition; the satire of each was intensely narrow, intensely personal; neither cared to waste time on didacticism. Like Alcaeus, he felt and wrote — one hardly dares say “thought” — in personal terms of a class whose star was waning, and what the one said of Pittacus is not alien in tone from the remarks of the other on Caesar. And so on. My point is that when it is a question of Catullus’ relationship to the classical writers, one must think not just of direct borrowings and parallels but also of common temperament and outlook. Indirectly — and this then is a subconscious matter — the freedom of the individual, the directness, at times the violence, and yet the underlying appeal to reason that lies over most of the poetry of classical Greece must have made a deep impress on this rather lawless mind. One commonly speaks of Horace as the writer who returned to the classical period, and Catullus as the one who looked not farther back than to the Hellenistic age. There is much truth in this view if we think only in terms of forms and parallels. If, however, we think in terms of animating spirit — of general tone — it may appear that in many respects it is Horace who thinks like an Alexandrian and Catullus who thinks like the earlier masters.⁸⁰

Finally, in our exploration of a poet’s temperament — his general outlook, tastes, standards, and the like — as a possible field in which the subconscious operates in poetic creation, we might turn to that puzzling poem, No. 68, to see if thus any illumination is to be had on its meaning.

It is not proposed here to go into most of the very difficult problems raised by this poem, but merely to propose an interpretation which leans fairly heavily on psychology. At the outset, however, the writer should state certain assumptions upon which he proceeds. First, lines 1-40 and 41-160 are taken as integral parts of the same poem.⁸¹ Second, Lesbia is assumed to be the *domina*. Third, it is assumed that Catullus had been asked by Allius (or however one wishes to spell his name), to write about love, and in the new style. Catullus refuses with the implication that he must be actively engaged in love to write about it, but his brother’s death has made this *studium* impossible. But as he thinks on Allius’ *officia* (and their associations with Lesbia), he changes his mind after all and in the end grants both requests.

Two strong feelings dominate the poem: grief for his totally lost brother and love for his half-lost Lesbia. The intensity of the first feeling is evidenced by his references to his brother in other poems,

as well as the repetitions within this one. The second feeling needs no comment. As for his feelings about Allius, they constitute, it is true, the ostensible motivation for the poem but no dominant note.

Catullus intends consciously to compare Lesbia with three heroines: Laodamia, Helen, and Juno. The connecting links are obvious. But unconsciously, as Ellis hinted and Professor Havelock has recently explained, Catullus identifies himself with two of these three — Laodamia and Juno — in his romantic idealization of Lesbia in his own image.⁸² For it was Laodamia who was the passionate and unhappy lover, and it was Juno who had to overlook Jove's *furta* as Catullus did the *furta* (*rara*, he wistfully calls them) of his *verecundae herae*. At this point, however, the unconscious identification ceases, for Catullus goes on to remind himself that Lesbia was not led to him by a father's hand,⁸³ and so then he looks at the *furta* from her point of view, as *furta* from her husband:

sed furtiua dedit mira munuscula nocte,
ipsius ex ipso dempta uiri gremio. (145-146)

And one immediately recalls the *furtiuos amores* of No. 7, 8.

We may go further. For two of these three heroines are also connected with Troy: Laodamia and Helen. But Troy is the concrete symbol which he uses for his brother and his death. Thus in some vague fashion the themes of Lesbia and his brother are commingled. Prescott was aware of this confusion when he spoke of "the theme of love that is not fraternal but sensual," and concluded that "The logical relation of the brother's death to the context is simply that the emotional upset occasioned by the loss of his brother prevents any other emotional activity."⁸⁴

The answer may be that subconsciously Catullus transferred his love for his brother to Lesbia, and in some way mingled the two loves just as the symbols of Laodamia and Helen embrace both Lesbia and the brother. Hence his rather pathetic attempts to make Lesbia appear less faithless than he undoubtedly knew she was. Indeed, does the line (133)

quam circumcursans hinc illinc saepe Cupido

suggests the romantic desire once again to endow her with the Cupids and Venuses that hovered over her in earlier days?

This brings us squarely up against the question: What was the nature of Catullus' love for Lesbia, for his brother, and for his friends. Recently it has been argued, and most interestingly, that

Catullus' affection for Lesbia had two quite separate aspects, and that he himself was aware of this dichotomy.⁸⁵ He "desired" her and he "respected" her. For the first, the physical feeling, the vocabulary is traditional: the verb is *amare* and the noun *amor*. For the second aspect, the spiritual feeling, he found no adequate vocabulary since his feeling was no usual one. Here he fumbles with *diligere*, *bene velle*, *bene facere*, *fides*, *amicitia*, and *pietas*. Catullus' realization of Lesbia's faithlessness caused him to lose his "respect" for her, although at the same time his "desire" for her increased. This in turn bred in him a sense of "wrong, of guilt, of unworthiness" and he is filled with an "ever-increasing loathing of the moral wrong of which he finds himself guilty." It is not, then, from love for Lesbia but from a sense of guilt that Catullus in No. 76 prays to be released!

This view, however stimulating, seems to me to have been compounded mostly out of romanticism and New Testament teaching, and to be quite wrong. Without going into detailed criticism here, the present writer protests against reading backward in our ancient authors. Catullus was no sin-racked neurotic. The couplet (85)

Odi et amo: quare id faciam, fortasse requiris.
nescio, sed fieri sentio et excrucior

does not mean anything so complicated as: "I spiritually despise you and am a-lusting after you" (which would follow from such a theory), but just what it says: "For you, I have both love and hate." As for

dilexi tum te non tantum ut uulgus amicam,
sed pater ut natos diligit et generos (72, 3-4)

an obvious and fair meaning is: "I did not love you as I might an Ipsithilla but with all the tender affection that a father feels." Surely any division of Catullus' love into a physical and into a Platonic-Christian-spiritual aspect rings very hollow indeed beside the metaphor *prati ultimi flos* (11, 22-23).

But now, what about his feelings toward his brother and his friends? The truth may be that Catullus drew no sharp (and false) distinctions such as we in our shyness like to draw. All affection — call it under whatever names you will — came from the same source, albeit naturally it would take different forms of expression. Thus of Lesbia he could use the phrase

aeternum hoc sanctae foedus amicitiae (109, 6)

and he could call the now faithless Rufus *nostrae pestis amicitiae* (77, 6). In No. 76 it is Lesbia who had now become *hanc pestem* (line 20). In this connection it is instructive to compare No. 30 with No. 76. Alfenus in No. 30 is reminded that *facta impia* (line 4) do not please the gods; he has no *fides*. In No. 76 Catullus sincerely declares that he has been *pium* (line 2), that is, "loyal," as indeed he had been by his standards, and he again appeals to the gods. He has not violated his *sanctam fidem* (line 3). If *inducens in amorem* in No. 30, 8 refers, as it would seem to refer, to a relationship between Alfenus and Catullus, it probably means "friendship" and nothing more sensational. Finally, it is interesting to observe in both Nos. 30 and 76 the same prosaic phraseology, which indicates that Catullus' mind worked in the same symbols and terms in the same circumstances:

ac tua dicta omnia factaque (30, 9)

and

haec a te dictaque factaque sunt (76, 8).

Three facts, it would seem, need to be borne in mind when considering Catullus' affection for Lesbia, for his brother, and for his friends. First, he was obviously capable of a great deal of love — he even lavished it generously on himself — and asked for much in return. Second, he demanded in those whom he loved wit, "elegance," charm, grace, and breeding. One need not list the occurrences of *lepor*, *sal*, *facetiae*, *urbanus*, and the like in his poems. Third, he asked for *fides* or *pietas*, in other words, "loyalty." Indeed, apart from the sexual side, he would appear to have sought to establish the same sort of relationship (*amicitia* or *amor*) with Lesbia as he did with his brother and friends.

To return to my proposal that in No. 68 Catullus is subconsciously transferring his love for his dead brother to a "rehabilitated" Lesbia, let us consider the significance of *domus* throughout the poem.⁸⁶ Both Lesbia and his brother were associated with Catullus' *domus*, which takes on the meaning of the concrete harbor of his affection and love — a "family-symbol." In lines 34-35 he says:

hoc fit, quod Romae uiuimus: illa domus,
illa mihi sedes, illic mea carpitur aetas:

Now, whatever may be the correct interpretation of the whole passage and of Catullus' lack of *scriptorum copia* (line 33), the two lines quoted above are highly interesting. Rome was where he lived; one

may think of *Viuiamus, mea Lesbia*; that was his *domus*, and there he plucked the flower of his *aetas*. This *domus* is surely associated with Lesbia, and *uiuimus* with her, too. We may now turn back to the earlier line 16:

iucundum cum aetas florida uer ageret.

The same metaphor, the same *aetas*! This, too, then may refer to Lesbia. And indeed the next words, *multa satis lusi* (line 17), support this interpretation; and his following explanation for his inability to write love poetry — that he must be actively engaged in love to do that, and he is not so engaged now. Then one may look at lines 22–23 (repeated as 94–95):

tecum una tota est nostra sepulta domus
omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra.

This time the *domus* is associated with his brother, and that *domus* is now gone with his brother. And with the second of these lines, one may compare No. 76, 9:

omnia quae ingratae perierunt credita menti,

when, later on, he realizes that his love for Lesbia, too, is finally dead. The repetition of the same words in the same metrical position may be an unconscious reflection of the earlier lines, just as in No. 73 (where he is speaking of friends, as in No. 77, as opposed to the “family-group” symbolized by *domus*, i.e., his brother and Lesbia), along with the pregnant phrases *bene uelle* and *pium* one finds in line 3:

omnia sunt ingrata, - - -.

In No. 65, 10 he had said of his brother *uita frater amabilior* and now in No. 68 he twice (lines 24 and 96) says of his *gaudia* which now have perished:

quae tuus in *uita* dulcis alebat amor.

But now this *uita*, this *domus* associated with his brother, is gone, and he transfers these concepts and feelings to Lesbia. So Allius’ help, his *officia*, the ostensible and conscious theme of the poem, consisted in his giving them a *domus*:

isque *domum* nobis isque dedit *dominam* (line 68).

In this connection, one thinks of the proposal that Allius is actually the bridegroom of No. 61, and of the line (31):

Ac domum dominam uoca.

And it is the *domus* which Allius furnished them that is the immediate link between Lesbia and Laodamia:

coniugis ut quondam flagrans aduenit amore
Protesilaeam Laudamia domum
inceptam frustra, - - -. (73-75)

But, as was said before, in his wistfulness Catullus actually, though unconsciously, identifies himself with Laodamia. And more than that. For Laodamia suggests, via Troy, his brother, and as Laodamia's *domus* was begun in vain, so the *domus* associated with his brother is now buried (*sepulta*). It is interesting, too, to see that twice later he picks up the *domus*-theme when speaking of Lesbia: in line 144

fragrantem Assyrio uenit odore domum

and in line 156:

et domus in qua olim lusimus et domina,

where there is not only the theme of love (*lusimus*; compare *multa satis lusi* of line 17), but again the dyad of *domus* and *domina*. The final line, then, becomes on this interpretation especially meaningful:

lux mea, qua uiua uiuere dulce mihi est.

NOTES

1. For the problems and chief literature, see the detailed discussion of A. L. Wheeler, *Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry* (Berkeley, Univ. Calif. Press, 1934) 1-32 (with whose conclusion, however, that Catullus did not himself arrange the collection I do not agree).

2. Thus recently V. Errante, *La Poesia di Catullo* (Milano, Hoepli, 1945) II, 16, observes that the poems fall "in due sole grandi parti diverse, le quali rappresentano, per dir così, i due volti della Poesia di Catullo," and proceeds on the basis of this dichotomy. O. Friess, *Beobachtungen über die Darstellungskunst Catulls* (Diss., Würzburg, Memminger, 1929) 18-19, argues eloquently against the "two Catulluses" and indeed that is the chief lesson which his dissertation teaches. On p. 19, note 20, he collects a number of (shocking) statements from earlier studies supporting the conventional division. This apparently dies hard, since more lately it has been briefly but forcefully attacked by E. A. Havelock, *The Lyric Genius of Catullus* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1939) 75-76 (to which study I am in general deeply indebted). It should be added that in this

paper the term "polymetrics" is used to refer to poems 1-60, and "epigrams" to 69-116, although this convention is not meant to deny that epigrams are to be found among 1-60 (on this point, see R. Reitzenstein, *RE s.v. Epigramm*, elfter Halbband (1907), col. 102.

3. Havelock (cited in note 2) 76 *sqq.*

4. By my friend and student, Mr. Arthur Millward who it is to be hoped will soon publish his findings.

5. G. Jachmann, reviewing Kroll's ed., *Gnomon* I (1925) 212, refreshingly argues against the usual theory of elaborate symmetry. If one wishes, one may make something, too, out of the symmetry in the first section (lines 1-14): waves of misfortune — Venus — Muses — Muses — Venus — waves of misfortune, or out of the fact that this is picked up (see W. Kroll, *C. Valerius Catullus* [Leipzig, Teubner, 1929] *ad loc.*; H. W. Prescott, "The Unity of Catullus lxviii," *TAPA LXXI* [1940] 479) in the order: Venus (lines 15-30 or 32) and Muses (lines 33-36 or 38).

6. The text used throughout this paper is that of R. Ellis, *Catulli Carmina* in the Oxford Classical Texts.

7. For an interesting discussion of this poem, see O. Hezel, *Catull und das griechische Epigramm* (Diss., Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1932) 22-26.

8. As often noted, e.g., by R. Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus* (Oxford, Clarendon, 2nd ed., 1889) 158 and Friess (cited in note 2) 36-37. On the balancing and contrasting elements in this poem, see H. Comfort, "Analysis of Technique in Catullus XLV (*Septimius and Acme*)," *PAPA LXIX* (1938) p. XXXIII.

9. On the structure of this poem see Kroll (cited in note 5) *ad loc.*; Friess (cited in note 2) 21 and 71-72; and especially I. Schnelle, *Catullinterpretationen* (Diss., Gräfenheinen, Schulze, 1933) 28-31.

10. The *quondam* of line 3, with which cf. 72,1, is now *vere*, with which perhaps cf. 11,19; 87,2; 109,3.

11. See Wheeler (cited in note 1) 227-230, who follows E. P. Morris, "An interpretation of Catullus VIII," *Trans. Conn. Acad. Arts and Sciences* XV (1909) 139-151. But self-irony, petulance, and retaliation are not humor!

12. On Catullus' use of asymmetry, see Friess (cited in note 2) 40-42.

13. Indeed at times one may wonder whether a scholar like Friess (cited in note 2), with a sort of *ὀμφαλός*-obsession, has not often gone too far in a rather mechanical fashion.

14. On the Catullan epigram, see Reitzenstein (cited in note 2); O. Weinreich, *Die Distichen des Catull* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1926); Havelock (cited in note 2) 134-144.

15. On the structure of this poem, and for its interpretation, see Schnelle (cited in note 9) 31-34.

16. Kroll (cited in note 5) 247-248, sensibly declares "Der Streit, ob wir hier eine Elegie oder ein Epigramm vor uns haben, ist ganz müssig: es ist ein Gedicht, und zwar ein von tiefster Empfindung getragenes, in dem der Inhalt mehrfach die Form gesprengt hat." Wheeler (cited in note 1) 170-171, unhesitatingly calls it an elegy, as does E. Paludan, "The Development of the Latin Elegy," *Classica et Mediaevalia* IV (1941) 208-209.

17. Friess (cited in note 2) 24-25, finds "wenig von einem Schema" here, but notes that lines 13-14 are the *ὀμφαλός*, with 12 lines preceding and following. See also his remarks on p. 41. Myself, I should call lines 13-16 the "navel," if there be any profit in such isolation.

18. Ellis (cited in note 8) 446.
19. Most of the basic works in this field are cited in the above-mentioned studies by Weinreich, Friess, Hezel, Schnelle, and by A. Ramminger, *Motivgeschichtliche Studien zu Catulls Basiagedichten* (Diss., Würzburg, Triltsch, 1937). For some recent Italian investigations, see the citations given by L. Alfonsi, "Lesbia," *AJP* LXXI (1950) 59, note 1.
20. "Tradition and the Individual Talent," *Selected Essays 1917-1932* (New York; Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1938) 11.
21. Thus Ramminger (cited in note 19) produces a truly formidable list of parallels on No. 7; a chapter on "Soles" and on "Una perpetua nox" and on "Sidera vident" and on "Der Sand- und Sternvergleich" can hardly leave us in much doubt about the history of these themes. It is true that his title limits him to such lists. My complaint is, indeed, against such a limitation, and one could wish for some final synthesis.
22. *Education of a Humanist* (Cambridge, Harv. Univ. Press, 1949) 101.
23. Havelock (cited in note 2) 78.
24. As D. A. Stauffer, *The Nature of Poetry* (New York, Norton, 1946) 230 sqq., points out in an interesting discussion of this matter.
25. See the views given by Prescott (cited in note 5).
26. Havelock (cited in note 2) 125. On the history of the sand and stars comparison, see Ramminger (cited in note 19) 62-67.
27. J. Marouzeau, *Traité de stylistique latine* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2^e éd., 1946) 23.
28. For a technical classification of kisses, see Serv. *ad A. I.*, 256.
29. Ellis (cited in note 8) 123, but see G. Friedrich, *Catulli Veronensis Liber* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1908) 191-192.
30. Ellis (cited in note 8) 127-128.
31. Wheeler (cited in note 1) 48 and 47.
32. Reitzenstein (cited in note 2) 102.
33. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1913) 293. On the encroachment of one literary genre upon another, see C. N. Jackson, "The Latin Epyllion," *HSCP* XXIV (1913) 42.
34. J. Svennung, *Catulls Bildersprache I* (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1945: 3, Uppsala) 20-34, who concludes (p. 34): "Aus den obigen Ausführungen dürfte hervorgegangen sein, dass Catulls Epigramme nicht nur durch das Metrum, sondern oft auch durch bewusste formale und stilistische Ausgestaltung von den Polymetra und grösseren Gedichten des Dichters geschieden worden sind."
35. One must remember that the polymetric lines are usually shorter, that there are fewer epigrams, that perhaps the sapphics and asclepiadics should be excluded, and finally that Svennung is contrasting range with average. Perhaps one can add to Svennung's list: types of verbal repetitions (see below p. 134) and structural patterns (see below p. 136).
36. "The *Raison d'Être* of Criticism in the Arts," *Music and Criticism* (ed. by R. French, Cambridge, Harv. Univ. Press, 1948) 21.
37. J. L. Lowes, in his *The Road to Xanadu* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1930).
38. Friedrich (cited in note 29) *ad* 68, 53 sgg. (pp. 452-453) and *ad* 68, 157 (pp. 477-478), noting how fond Catullus is of using the same expression over again for the same situation, has collected a useful list of examples.
39. For example, *Odes* I, 1, 29; 5, 13; 7, 10; 16, 22; 31, 15.

40. Lucr. (cited from C. Bailey, *Titi Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura Libri Sex* [Oxford, Clarendon, 1947] I-III) II, 1148; IV, 464, 1110, 1133, 1188 (and 1239 without *quoniam*); V, 388, 846, 1123, 1231, 1271, 1313, 1332. That these instances occur chiefly in two books probably indicates that during their composition (and perhaps Bk. IV was written directly after Bk. V [Bailey, *op. cit.* I, 32-37]), some unconscious links had been curiously formed in Lucretius' mind between this rather dramatic phrase in this metrical position and the immediate subjects at hand.

41. See A. S. Pease, *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Cambridge, Harv. Univ. Press, 1935) *ad* I, 130 (p. 180) and *ad* I, 135 (p. 187).

42. In *Axel's Castle* (New York, Scribner's, 1936) 228 *sqq.*

43. J. L. Lowes, *Convention and Revolt in Poetry* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1930) 244.

44. See Marouzeau (cited in note 27) 29. Perhaps Latin letters offer no better example than Catullus No. 101.

45. As Miss R. E. Deutsch notes in her admirable *The Pattern of Sound in Lucretius* (Diss., Bryn Mawr, 1939) 166-167. Although she does not commit herself on the question of how conscious Catullus himself may have been of this scheme, in dealing with longer and more complex ones in Lucretius she concludes (p. 121): "It hardly seems possible that the details of such patterns can have been consciously formulated by the poet, even though he was most certainly aware of the sound of these rhyme schemes as a whole." For a general study of rhyme and assonance in Catullus, see N. Herescu, "L'Assonance Latine," *Lettres d'Humanité* V (1946) 132-148.

46. See Friess (cited in note 2) 33.

47. While one may conclude that such expressions are unconscious habits with a poet, it would seem more likely that he purposely employed such "mock-heroic" touches as his *σφραγίς*, so to speak.

48. Like those noted by myself, "Catullus' *Attis*," *AJP* LXVIII (1947) 402-403, as opposed to repetitions of unimportant words at the close of lines in No. 64 (see Deutsch, cited in note 45) 157.

49. On the sound-effects of this poem, see Schnelle (cited in note 9) 31; Deutsch (cited in note 45) 168; and especially J. Van Gelder, *De Woordherhal-ing bij Catullus* (Den Haag, N. V. de Zuid-Hollandsche Boek-en Handelsdrukkerij, 1933) 100-101 and 167-168.

50. Bailey (cited in note 40) I, 145.

51. Deutsch (cited in note 45) 173.

52. See the interesting remarks of E. Löfstedt, "Reminiscence and Imitation. Some Problems in Latin Literature," *Eranos* XLVII (1949) 148-164.

53. H. A. J. Munro, *T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura Libri Sex* (London, Bell, 4th ed., 1929) II, 198-199 (*ad* Lucr. III, 449-451), has collected a long and significant list of Lucretian reminiscences in *Georgics* II.

54. E. K. Rand, "Catullus and the Augustans," *HSCP* XVII (1906) 23 says of this: "Here and elsewhere it is merely the word or the rhythm that he appropriates, with no thought of the original setting — unhappily, sometimes, as in the present case." This comes close to calling this reminiscence an unconscious one!

55. See Bailey (cited in note 40) *ad loc.* Probably this is not a conscious imitation; such descriptions as III, 453-454, 473-480, 487-505, or that on the

plague, may merely indicate a thorough knowledge of (perhaps even training in) medicine.

56. W. A. Merrill, "On the Influence of Lucretius on Horace," *Class. Philol.* (Univ. Calif. Publ.) I (1905) 120-121, concludes that "Probably there is Lucretian influence here," but does not say how conscious he thought it was.

57. Merrill (cited in note 56) 119, citing *Lucr.* II, 642 and III, 897-898, says: "Here there is nothing common except the thought which is sufficiently trite."

58. Merrill (cited in note 56) 112-113, and C. Brakman, "Horatiana," *Mnemos.* XLIIII (1921), 217-218, avoid any such elaborate guesses. Or did *Lucr.* and *Hor.* independently recall *Liv. Andron.* (Morel, *FPL* 41)?

59. Van Gelder (cited in note 49) 112-114 and 170-172.

60. A quite different but no less interesting matter is the degree to which a chance collocation of sounds may unconsciously suggest to a poet an image.

61. According to my friend and student, Mr. T. Wells, who also finds that: Catullus probably uses as few color-words as any other Latin poet (37 in the 116 poems); hardly any occur in the epigrams, but 35 per cent in No. 64 (which probably means that a good deal of his color usage is forced); Catullus is fond of bunching together two or three color words. For the general subject, see S. Skard, "The Use of Color in Literature," *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* XC (1946) 163-249, reviewed by A. S. Pease, *CP* XLIII (1948) 142.

62. E. A. Havelock, "Virgil's Road to Xanadu," *The Phoenix* I (1946) 6, notes that "The true associative connection," between the three episodes, "resides in the images of shape, colour, sound, and, we should add, temperature," — a subject worthy of detailed investigation (not treated in C. Opheim's excellent "The Aristaeus Episode of Vergil's Fourth *Georgic*," *Iowa Studies in Class. Philol.* IV [1936]).

63. *Biographia Literaria*, ch. 14 *ad fin.*

64. On which see the interesting and curious study of J. Logre, *L'Anxiété de Lucrèce* (Paris, J. B. Janin, 1946). To cite but one example from Lucretius, consider the *dies* (V, 1190) in "natural opposition to *nox*" and picked up below in lines 1192-1193, and the illuminating note of Bailey (cited in note 40) *ad loc.*

65. See Ramminger (cited in note 19) 42-51.

66. Cf. the refrain in No. 8.

67. Ellis (cited in note 8) 413, cites the observation of A. Tartara, *Animadversiones* (Roma, "Dell' Opinione," 1882) 36, that each noun is carefully equipped with a corresponding adjective.

68. See K. Büchner, "Beobachtungen über Vers und Gedankengang bei Lukrez," *Hermes (Einzelschriften, Heft I)* 1936, and C. Bailey, "The Mind of Lucretius," *AJP* LXI (1940) 278-291.

69. J. Henry, *Aeneidea* (London, Williams and Norgate, 1873-1889) I-IV *passim*, followed by H. W. Garrod, *The Oxford Book of Latin Verse* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1927) p. xxxv.

70. For permission to quote from "Burnt Norton" (from *Four Quartets*), I wish to express my thanks to Mr. Eliot and his publishers, Harcourt, Brace and Co.

71. On which see Weinreich (cited in note 14) 44-46, who finds: "In der römischen Literatur setzt, soweit ich sehe, diese 'Antwortformel' ein mit Catull, in der Prosa mit Varro und Cicero, wird häufiger bei den Augusteern, von Martial dann als ein wirklich bequemes 'Schema' zu Tode gehetzt. Dagegen

fand ich nichts Entsprechendes bei den Hellenisten oder in älterer griechischer Dichtung." But cf. Ramminger (cited in note 19) 7-10 on the relation of the "Quaerisform" to the dialogue and dialectic of rhetoric. Friess (cited in note 2) 55-57 stresses the air of realism created by such questions and answers.

72. See Friedrich (cited in note 29) 538.

73. On Catullus' use of *nam*, see A. Clemens, *De Catulli Periodis* (Diss., Wolfenbüttel, Zwissler, 1885) 46-47.

74. On Catullus' use of *at*, see A. Reeck, *Beiträge zur Syntax des Catull* (Progr. Nr. 159, Bromberg, 1889) 4. It may be noted here that when Catullus concludes by sending someone or something to an unpleasant end (e.g. 3, 13; 8, 14; 27, 5; 28, 14; 36, 18), an *at* is his favorite conjunction.

75. These poems show this pattern: 3; 8; 12; 13; 14; 16; 27; 28; 32; 36; 39; 68; 71; 72; 74; 77; 78; 86; 88; 90; 99; 100; 107; 114.

76. See note 71.

77. Cf. R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1949) I, 216-225.

78. For information on *quare* (relative) before Catullus, I am indebted to the ever generous *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* Bureau (and in particular to Dr. W. Ehlers and Dr. O. Hiltbrunner). I hope to treat this subject more fully in a separate study of structural patterns in Catullus.

79. See G. L. Hendrickson, "Archilochus and Catullus," *Class. Philol.* XX (1925) 155-157, and N. Herescu, *Catullo* (Roma, Ediz. Roma, 1943) 72-73. Archilochus frg. 79 (Diehl, 2nd ed., 1936), for example, in its grim wishes reminds one of a number of Catullus' poems (esp. No. 108) as in its ending, ὅς μ' ἠδίκησε, λ[ά]ξ δ' ἐφ' ὀρκίοισ' ἔβη/τὸ πρὶν ἑταῖρος [ἐ]ών, it brings to mind several others (e.g., Nos. 30, 73, 77, 91, 100).

80. For some interesting views on the place of Catullus and Horace in Latin letters, see Havelock (cited in note 2) 177 *sqq.*

81. As argued by Prescott (cited in note 5); but cf. P. Maas, "The Chronology of the Poems of Catullus," *Class. Quart.* XXXVI (1942) 82.

82. See Ellis (cited in note 8) p. lxxviii; Havelock (cited in note 2) 118-119.

83. Cf. 72, 3-4: *dilexi — pater ut natos*.

84. Prescott (cited in note 5) 479 and note 12.

85. By F. O. Copley, "Emotional Conflict and its Significance in the Lesbia-Poems of Catullus," *AJP* LXX (1949) 22-40.

86. On the themes of *domus* and "life" and "death," see the interpretation of Van Gelder (cited in note 49) ch. 6, who, however, makes much of *pietas* in this poem.

THE DATE OF CICERO'S *BRUTUS*

BY EDWARD A. ROBINSON

AS I have tried to show elsewhere, there is evidence that Cicero resumed literary work, after his participation in the earlier stages of the Civil War and his semi-exile in Brundisium, almost immediately upon his return to Tusculum and Rome, that is, in October or November, 47, rather than at some undetermined point between his return and April, 46.¹ The one major extant work certainly datable to this general period is the *Brutus*, but neither the external nor the internal evidence for this treatise, as at present understood, throws much light upon the circumstances of the composition beyond the fact that the work was published by early April, 46.²

It would seem, then, that we must weigh three main possibilities: (1) that Cicero was engaged upon the *Brutus* during most of the space of roughly six months here envisaged; (2) that the composition belongs principally to the later part of this period, say, between January and April, 46, which approximates the view accepted, perhaps a little uncritically, in most modern writings on the subject; ³ (3) that the bulk of the work was completed relatively early — as I have pointed out in my earlier paper there seems to be nothing to exclude the supposition that the treatise may have been substantially finished by December or January — but that the publication was delayed for reasons still to be determined. The question can hardly be settled beyond all doubt, since there is a lacuna in the correspondence with Atticus, our ordinary control in these matters, nearly coterminous with the period we have to consider. The following evidence, however, which has been insufficiently noticed in previous discussions, may repay study.

I. THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE DIALOGUE

The nondramatic preface (1-9), which, to judge from what we know of Cicero's practice, would either have been written last or revised with respect to the final form of the body of the treatise,⁴ contains no absolute indication of date, and the information (9 *ad fin.*) that the reported dialogue took place "nuper" is rather too indefinite to permit much refinement in a chronological problem the outside limits of which are as narrow as these. The dramatic pro-

logue (10-21), however, emphasizes in various ways Cicero's recent return to study and writing. The occasion of the dialogue is not represented as Cicero's first meeting with Brutus and Atticus since his return,⁵ but he informs them, and as if this were indeed news, that, inspired by writings which they had sent him before his return from Brundisium, he has resumed his former studies.⁶

The language of this passage is echoed in a letter to Varro, which may be independently dated to October or November, 47.⁷ In a much-debated passage, Cicero then indicates his intention of repaying his debt to Atticus with a work that in some way is to derive from the latter's *Liber Annalis*.⁸ Much ingenuity has been expended on conjectures concerning the work here adumbrated,⁹ but although the probability, as suggested by the language of the text, is that some work of a specifically historical character is intended, two considerations emerge for our immediate problem: that Cicero had other literary projects in mind at the time of the *Brutus*, and that the undertaking here alluded to is still *in votis*. An interesting parallel to Cicero's citation of a passage in Hesiod at this point is to be found in a letter to Atticus about two years later in which the matter under discussion is precisely Cicero's literary relations with Varro at the time here contemplated.¹⁰ Atticus assures Cicero that he will not be unduly troublesome in exacting payment, but when Brutus humorously offers himself as a *voluntarius procurator* on Atticus' behalf, the latter reminds Cicero that he owes a debt to Brutus also. To Cicero's request for enlightenment on that score, Atticus replies: "Ut scribas . . . aliquid; iam pridem enim conticuerunt tuae litterae. Nam ut illos de re publica libros edidisti, nihil a te sane postea accepimus. . . ." ¹¹ With a brief remark that his own work had been inspired by the *De Republica*, Atticus then invites Cicero to develop, for Brutus' benefit, a discussion *de oratoribus* that had recently taken place between Cicero and Atticus at Tusculum.

Cicero then embarks on the main theme of the dialogue, the history of Greek and especially Roman oratory, which occupies the remainder of the treatise. As I have indicated, however, there seems to be nothing in the historical allusions or the like in this portion of the work which more than confirms the established *terminus ante quem* of April, 46. Among the other evidence which seems to relate the writing of the dialogue, not merely the dramatic setting, to an early point within the period we have to consider, I should especially call attention to Atticus' "ut scribas aliquid." There are plans, perhaps for a historical work, but these are vague and in the future. Cicero

urgently wishes to "write something." Incentive had been supplied, even before his return, by Brutus and Atticus, and this must have been confirmed by the realization, upon his return, that the ordinary channels of public action were, for the foreseeable future, closed to him. A formal *apologia* against the Neo-Atticists, a controversy of some years' standing,¹² offered a ready, dignified, and ostensibly innocuous theme. In the absence of any demonstrably earlier work in the series which Cicero tells us was begun just about this time,¹³ the evidence here gathered permits us to assign the inception of the *Brutus* to October or November, 47.

A point in the interpretation of the dialogue that may have received less attention here than it deserves is the rather considerable length of the work (about 100 pages in the average text) and the impressive number of names mentioned in the survey of oratory from its origins to the present, matters which did not escape the notice of Cicero himself or of other ancient readers.¹⁴ With all allowance for Cicero's familiarity with the subject and for the material assistance he doubtless received from Atticus' newly published *Liber Annalis* and other sources, we should not discount the magnitude of the undertaking, the more so since it is likely that the author was here returning to large-scale composition after an interruption of some four or five years. As we shall see, there is some evidence that Cicero turned to other work within the October–April period we are studying, in which case the consideration just advanced may serve as an additional argument for setting the inception of the *Brutus* as early as possible. I mention the matter, however, primarily to exclude the likelihood that the work was executed in any very short space of time, though a lower limit of January could, I think, suffice.

II. OTHER LITERARY UNDERTAKINGS; THE *DE OPTIMO GENERE ORATORUM*

Whether the historical project noticed in the dramatic prologue ever bore fruit we cannot say (it is not mentioned in the correspondence of April and later months, when, for a time, we have something like adequate external documentation for Cicero's literary plans), but if any time was devoted to it, it is likely that this occurred after the *Brutus* itself was well advanced.¹⁵ More concretely, however, we have the problem of the undertaking represented for us by the *De Optimo Genere Oratorum*, which was to have served as an introduction to translations of Aeschines' *In Ctesiphontem* and Demos-

thenes' *De Corona*. This certainly belongs to 46, and has been dated on rather good grounds between the *Brutus* and *Orator*, with perhaps closer affinities to the former than to the latter.¹⁶ If assignable to this year, however, I think that a *terminus ante quem* for the project not later than April is strongly indicated in order to obviate impingement on the *Cato-Orator* sequence (spring, summer, and perhaps autumn, 46), after which Cicero seems to have turned his attention to the series of philosophical works beginning with the *Hortensius*.¹⁷ The earlier part of April seems to have been occupied by the *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, which, though closely akin to the *rhetorica*, does constitute a venture into a new field as compared with the *Brutus*.¹⁸ That Cicero should have embarked upon so academic an exercise (relatively speaking) as the *De Optimo Genere Oratorum* concurrently with the *Cato*, or, indeed, for a good while after the arrival of the news of Thapsus, when he seems to have contemplated, though briefly, even something of a directly political nature,¹⁹ is quite improbable; and, as has been said, the work is hardly as late as the *Orator*, which Cicero himself tells us (*Or.* 35) was begun directly upon the completion of the *Cato*. I suggest, therefore, dating the *De Optimo Genere Oratorum* prior to April, 46.

Since what we have is merely an introduction (though not entirely devoid of independent value) to the translations of Aeschines and Demosthenes, a conclusive demonstration that these translations were made at this time would obviously be of interest for the present argument. For my own part I feel that the rather explicit language of the fragment itself and the *testimonia* of St. Jerome and Sidonius are not to be lightly disregarded;²⁰ and *prooemia* of the type before us seem to have been written or revised after the completion of the matter which they introduce.²¹ Still, in view of the controversial state of the question, it would be unwise to press this point more strongly here, nor is it perhaps entirely necessary to do so. The *prooemium*, brief as it is, is a memorial of a very sizable enterprise (the two translations, if completed, would have run to much more than the length of the *Brutus*), and one which, however much or little was accomplished of the main task, could well have occupied many hours of Cicero's time concurrently with or upon the completion of the *Brutus*, to which it would form a very natural pendant. It is not, however, mentioned in the earlier work, which suggests that the *Brutus* may have been largely completed before Cicero turned to this further project.

III. THE ROLES OF BRUTUS AND ATTICUS

In spite of the cordiality expressed in the prologue and throughout the dialogue by Cicero's interlocutors and their undoubted interest and sympathy as shown by their previous dedications to him, it appears that neither Brutus nor Atticus was entirely satisfied with the end product. For Brutus' misgivings about the political tendency of the dialogue we have the express testimony of a fragment of a letter of Cicero preserved in Quintilian.²² That Atticus also took some exception to the work — understandably, in view of his well-known affectation of political neutrality — is the only explanation that I can see for a curious notice concerning Atticus' role in the final version of the *Academica*. Acknowledging, in a letter of July, 45, Atticus' consent to appear in the last-mentioned dialogue, Cicero remarks that he had now learned for the first time that his friend was "not unwilling" to accept such a role.²³ With the evidence of the *Brutus* before us, I do not understand how the passage in the letter of 45 can be elucidated except on the assumption that Atticus, who must at one time have approved his inclusion in the *Brutus*, had, during the course of composition or after the publication of that work, changed his opinion. There is no mention of Atticus' reluctance in the very copious correspondence of March–June, 45 prior to this letter, suggesting that Atticus' position, as it emerges in *Att.* 13.22.1, had been mutually understood for some time.

The situation throughout the greater part of 46 and the first two months of 45 cannot be directly clarified because of gaps in the correspondence. It is to be noted, however, that there is no allusion to the *Brutus* in the letters of 46, including several datable between April and July, not long after the publication of the dialogue, which again hints some obscure difficulty about the execution or publication of the work.

Further, considering the close friendship of the two men and the success, from the point of view of the dramatic economy of the dialogues, of Atticus' parts in the *Brutus* and other works, which exhibit to advantage Atticus' wit and erudition, qualities always useful in a potential *dramatis persona*, some reason such as that suggested may underlie Cicero's desertion, in the *Orator*, of the form of contemporary dialogue used in the *Brutus* in favor of the epistolary-essay form, his resolution (cf. *Att.* 13.19.3), which must have been subsequent to the *Brutus*, "neminem includere in dialogos eorum qui viverent," a principle to which he adhered in the *Hortensius* and in his original plans for the *Academica*, and his belated

request for Atticus' services a week or so before the date of *Att.* 13.22.²⁴ It will be noticed, finally, that Atticus' consent is forthcoming for a role in a philosophical work, which would presumably be, and, in fact, is, without significant political connotations.²⁵ In any event our problem is to explain the introduction of the discordant (as they seem ultimately to have been adjudged) political elements in a work that might otherwise have confined itself to the history of oratory and relatively inoffensive literary polemic. Either the work was undertaken from the outset as a republican *Tendenzschrift* with the consent and encouragement of Brutus and Atticus, the latter two subsequently altering their position; or it may have been planned as primarily a literary exercise, in which case Cicero must have taken it upon himself in the course of the writing to introduce the unwelcome political matter. In view of Brutus' close association with Caesar at this time and Atticus' constant neutrality, the latter alternative is much the more likely.

Just when the direction of the work was altered is not so easy to determine, but some point after Caesar's departure for Africa in December, by which date Cicero would have had time to observe and reflect upon the far-reaching consequences of the new political order, is in keeping with the evidence. The interposition a little later of the undertaking centering around the *De Optimo Genere Oratorum* perhaps indicates that the *Brutus*, now carried to approximately the stage in which we know it, was laid aside for a time in deference to Brutus and Atticus, though, as we see, he must have overcome their scruples, or disregarded them, since the work was published within two or three months.

IV. CONCLUSION

This, then, is my reconstruction of the history of the *Brutus*. It was begun in October or early November, 47, the first of a series of works composed during the autumn, winter, and spring of 47-46 and continued in the philosophical, rhetorical, and other works of 46-43. The dramatic prologue indicates Cicero's eagerness to return to literary work, and the nominal subject of the dialogue was available in a standing controversy on literary style. The plan of the treatise is such as to preclude the supposition that it could have been executed in any very short period of time, though there is nothing to prevent its having been substantially completed by about January, 46. The purpose of the work was somewhat modified, notably by the introduction of elements which may reflect Cicero's in-

tensified feelings about the political situation. The progress of the work seems to have been halted for a time, possibly by a digression into the field of historical writing, more probably by the project known to us by the *De Optimo Genere Oratorum*, a natural development of the central topic of the *Brutus* and a reversion, it would seem, to the original purpose of that dialogue. The publication of the *Brutus* ensued, however, apparently sometime in March, 46, and possibly without the full approbation of Brutus and Atticus.

NOTES

1. E. A. Robinson, "*Biennium praeteriit* (Att. 13.12.3)," *TAPhA* 80 (1949), 368-374, in which I have pointed out the bearing of a passage in a letter of June, 45 upon this question and upon the date of an important letter to Varro (*Fam.* 9.1), which seems likewise to belong to October or November, 47, rather than to early 46, as commonly held.

2. *Ibid.*, 369, notes 4 and 5, where I have noted the very probable *terminus ante quem* established by P. Groebe, *Hermes* 55 (1920), 105-107 (= W. Drumann-P. Groebe, *Geschichte Roms*, 6², 683-685), on the basis of *Parad.* 5, but the inconclusive nature of the other evidence which has been adduced for the elucidation of date.

3. Cf. Schanz-Hosius, 1⁴, 465; W. Kroll, *RE* 7A, 1099; R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog* (Leipzig, 1895), 1, 495-497; T. Petersson, *Cicero* (Berkeley, 1920), 438; E. Ciaceri, *Cicerone e i suoi tempi* (Milan, 1926-1930), 2, 265; and the discussions in the introductions to the standard editions of the *Brutus*, e.g., K. W. Piderit-W. Friedrich (Leipzig, 1889³), 21-22; J. Martha (Paris, 1892), i-ii; O. Jahn-W. Kroll (Berlin, 1908⁵), 1; G. L. Hendrickson (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), 4-5. Groebe, *loc. cit.* (above, note 2), attempts to limit Cicero's work on the *Brutus* to February and March, 46 (by the usual reckoning), but, as I have tried to show in my earlier paper, the "*maiores vigiliae*" of *Parad.* 5 do not exclude a prior date. O. E. Schmidt, *Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero* (Leipzig, 1893), 242-243, and F. F. Abbott (ed.), *Selected Letters of Cicero* (Boston, 1897), 186 (note on *Fam.* 9.1.2), admit, though without circumstantial discussion, the possibility of work during the last months of 47.

4. Cf. *Att.* 4.16.2; 16.6.4.

5. *Brut.* 10, 20.

6. *Brut.* 11: ". . . Vos vero, inquam, Attice, et praesentem me cura levatis et absenti magna solacia dedistis. Nam vestris primum litteris recreatus me ad pristina studia revocavi. . . ." Cf. *TAPhA* 80 (1949), 372, note 13.

7. *Fam.* 9.1.2: "Scito enim me postea quam in urbem venerim redisse cum veteribus amicis, id est cum libris nostris, in gratiam. . . Ignoscunt mihi, revocant in consuetudinem pristinam. . ." On the date of this letter see above, note 1, and *TAPhA* 80 (1949), 373-374.

8. *Brut.* 15-16, 19.

9. We must distinguish, amid the remarkable efflorescence of horticultural metaphor in this passage, between the "*conditis* [*fructibus*]" of 16 and the prospective *primitiae* of the new harvest. The former has sometimes been thought to contain an allusion to the *De Legibus*, but, as O. Harnecker, "Zu Ciceros

Brutus," *Neue Jahrbbb.* 123 (1881), 184-185, rightly points out, it would be odd of Cicero, in the presence of Brutus, to use of this work the expression ". . . ad quos omnis nobis aditus, qui paene solis patuit, obstructus est." Harnecker's suggestion, that we have rather a reference to the 'Ανέκδοτα (cf. in general, S. Häfner, *Die literarischen Pläne Ciceros* [Diss. Munich, 1928], 64-79), is more likely. The new produce has been variously understood as philosophical work of the type which appeared in 45-44 (so Piderit-Friedrich, note *ad loc.*); the *De Legibus* again (cf. E. Kalbe, *Quibus temporibus M. Tullius Cicero libros De Legibus III scripserit* [Diss. Leipzig, 1934], 17-20; similarly, M. Ruch, "La question du *De Legibus*," *LEC* 17 [1949], 16-20, who, while accepting [14-16] my arguments against any earlier date for this treatise [cf. *TAPhA* 71 (1940), 524-531; 74 (1943), 109-112; 77 (1946), 321-322], essays to date its inception to early 46); a historical work (so Martha, Jahn-Kroll, Hendrickson, notes *ad loc.*; Häfner, *op. cit.*, 89-90); while L. Amundsen, "Notes to the *Brutus* of Cicero," *SO* 19 (1939), 124-128, comparing other ancient passages illustrating the metaphor employed, cautions against any positive identification. An allusion to the *philosophica* of 45-44 is very improbable, since these have no very obvious kinship to anything like the *Liber Annalis*, and any reference to the *De Legibus*, at least in the form in which we know it, seems equally unlikely (how, for example, could Cicero presume to legislate in his own person at a time like this and with studied disregard of Caesar's *de facto* position?). On the whole, a historical work of some kind seems to be what Cicero has in view, and there may be independent testimony to some such project about this time in Plutarch, *Vit. Cic.* 41.1.

10. *Brut.* 15: ". . . quamquam illud Hesiodium laudatur a doctis, quod eadem mensura reddere iubet quae acceperis aut etiam cumlatiore, si possis." :: *Att.* 13.12.3 (see above, note 1): ". . . Ego autem me parabam ad id quod ille [Varro] mihi mississet ut αὐτῷ τῷ μέτρῳ καὶ λῶϊον, si modo potuissem: nam hoc etiam Hesiodus ascribit, αἶ κε δύνῃαι. . . ." The Hesiodic passage (*Op.* 349-350) is cited once again (*Off.* 1.48), in a different context, but the peculiar association of the two *loci* just quoted remains striking.

11. *Brut.* 19.

12. Schanz-Hosius, 1⁴, 390-391, with the technical literature there cited.

13. *Att.* 13.12.3.

14. The prolixity of the dialogue is remarked by Cicero and his auditors (e.g., 52, 138, 176, 244, 269-270, 297), and is mentioned by Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.38) and by Fronto (*Ad Verum Imp.* 2.1.17); cf. Jahn-Kroll, *Introd.*, 6-7.

15. This may be implicit in *Brut.* 41-44 (cf. P. Boyancé, "Sur Cicéron et l'histoire," *REA* 42 [1940], 388-392), where Cicero acknowledges a little lecture from Atticus on historical veracity with the words (44): ". . . ego cautius post-hac historiam attingam te audiente. . . ." It is a question merely of incidental historical problems in the *Brutus* (e.g., 72-74, 99-100), with nothing more specific as to Cicero's plans than was stated in the prologue.

16. G. L. Hendrickson, "Cicero De Optimo Genere Oratorum," *AJPh* 47 (1926), 109-123; H. M. Hubbell (ed., tr.), *Cicero De Inventione, De Optimo Genere Oratorum, Topica* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), 349-350; cf. Schanz-Hosius, 1⁴, 468; Kroll, *RE* 7A, 1101; Häfner, *op. cit.* (note 9), 4-12. The main argument for placing the work between the *Brutus* and the *Orator*, rather than assigning it less definitely to the general period of these two treatises, resides in the fact that here, as in the *Brutus*, Demosthenes is the embodiment of oratorical per-

fection, while in the *Orator* Cicero undertakes the more ambitious task of delineating, with conscious recognition of the Platonic inspiration of his approach (*Or.* 8-9), the ideal orator. "Of this advanced position there is no trace in the *De Optimo Genere Oratorum*, and it seems unlikely that if it had been written after the *Orator*, Cicero would have reverted to his earlier views." (Hubbell, *op. cit.*, 349).

17. On the chronology of the sequence *Cato-Orator-Hortensius* see now R. Philippson, *RE* 7A, 1123, 1125-1126. The date of the *Cato* is, unfortunately, not quite certain (cf. W. Sternkopf, *WKPh* 23 [1906], 157-158), but in view of Tyrrell and Purser's very plausible dating (after Schiche) of *Att.* 12.4 to May 1, it is likely that Cicero was engaged on the work (cf. *Att.* 12.4.2) by this date.

18. On the date of the *Paradoxa* see Groebe, *loc. cit.* (above, note 2); on its classification see Philippson, *RE* 7A, 1123; Hirzel, *op. cit.*, 1, 496; A. S. Pease, ed. *Div.*, 346 (note on *Div.* 2, 1 *nam et, etc.*).

19. *Fam.* 9.2.5. The project, which may have been Cicero's first reaction to the news of Thapsus mentioned in this letter, cannot have been long-lived. It does not appear in *Fam.* 9.3, which was written a few days earlier (before the news of the battle), and to which *Fam.* 9.2 is a sort of postscript; and we hear no more of it in further letters to Varro and to Atticus which follow very shortly. There can hardly be an allusion to the *De Legibus*, as has sometimes been held; see above, note 9, and Philippson, *RE* 7A, 1118.

20. *Opt. Gen.* 14: "Converti enim ex Atticis duorum eloquentissimorum nobilissimas orationes . . . ; nec converti ut interpretes, sed ut orator . . ."; cf. 23 *ad fin.*; St. Jerome, *Ep.* 57.5.2-4 (*CSEL* 54, 508-509); *Ep.* 106.3.3 (*CSEL* 55, 250); Sidonius, *Ep.* 2.9.5; see, in general, the discussion by Häfner mentioned above, note 16.

21. Cf. above, note 4.

22. Quintilian, *Inst.* 5.10.9 = Tyrrell and Purser, 6², 362; see R. E. Jones, "Cicero's Accuracy of Characterization in His Dialogues," *AJPh* 60 (1939), 322 and notes 50 and 52; Tyrrell and Purser, 6², cxv. On the political character of the work see M. Gelzer, "Ciceros Brutus als politische Kundgebung," *Philologus* 93 (1938), 128-131. Beside the tone of pessimism which pervades much of the work (cf. 2, 4-11, 16, 21-22, 157, 251, 266, 328-330), several passages, as has often been noted, are quite provocative (24, 53, 280-282, 331-332).

23. *Att.* 13.22.1 (July 4, 45): ". . . Te autem *ἀσμεναιτῶρα* intexui, faciamque id crebrius. Proximis enim tuis litteris primum te id non nolle cognovi."

24. *Att.* 13.14.3 (Tyrrell and Purser, No. 628: June 26): "Illud etiam atque etiam consideres velim, placeatne tibi mitti ad Varronem quod scripsimus. Etsi etiam ad te aliquid pertinet: nam scito te ei dialogo adiunctum esse tertium. . . ." Atticus is informed once more in *Att.* 13.19.3 (June 29): ". . . tu es tertius in sermone nostro. . . ."; but Atticus' response to Cicero's invitation — which savors a little of a *fait accompli* — we learn, as mentioned, only in *Att.* 13.22.1. Apropos of *Att.* 13.14.3 I might mention that "scito" is precisely a word used by Cicero to introduce important personal news: cf. *Att.* 1.2.1 (announcing the birth of Marcus, Jr.); *Fam.* 5.7.1 (in the celebrated letter of 62 to Pompey); *Brut.* 12 (developing the point mentioned above, note 6); *Fam.* 9.1.2 (quoted above, note 7); the recurrence of the word in the last two closely related passages is especially to be noted.

25. The other interpretations of the special problem of *Att.* 13.22.1 that I

have seen all evade important items of evidence. J. Chapman, *Dissertatio Chronologica de Aetate Ciceronis Librorum De Legibus* (Cambridge, 1741), 22-35, argues, in the face of grave objections, for two editions of the *Brutus*, the first datable to the spring of 46, the second, in which Atticus appears for the first time, to late in 45; A. Lörcher, *Das Fremde und das Eigene in Ciceros Büchern De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum und den Academica* (Halle, 1911), 214-216, sweeps roughshod through all external and internal evidence for dating the *Brutus* to 46; J. S. Reid, ed. *Acad.* (London, 1885), 34, note 3, overlooks completely Atticus' role in the *Brutus*, and designates his part in the *De Legibus* (which Reid naturally considers earlier than the *Academica*) as "unimportant" (!). Ruch, *op. cit.* (above, note 9), 11-12, attempts to limit the application of the passage to the interpretation of Atticus' role in the *Academica*, overlooking the material I have here adduced for regarding *Att.* 13.22.1 as reflecting a situation of long standing. He further assumes erroneously that *Att.* 13.22.1 (with *Att.* 13.14.3 and 13.19.3, as mentioned above, note 24) pertains to the first and not to the final version of the *Academica*, and even proposes that the attitude ascribed to Atticus "est peut-être pure fiction littéraire"!

GERMANA PATRIA

BY MASON HAMMOND

CICERO opens the second book of the *de Legibus* by describing his affection for Arpinum, his *germana patria*. Atticus asks how he can have two fatherlands, since Rome should be the only one for all Roman citizens. Cicero replies that all Romans who came from *municipia* had two fatherlands, one by birth and one by law, and that while the general Roman citizenship constituted the more important and true one, it did not exclude the lesser membership in, and affection for, the town of birth.¹ This passage has been recognized as central in the development of the concept that Roman citizenship was compatible with citizenship in some other city-state. Saint Paul said to the tribune who arrested him in Jerusalem "I am a man which am a Jew of Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city," and in reply to the question "Art thou a Roman?" replied "Yea . . . I was free born."² A. N. Sherwin-White centers his book on *The Roman Citizenship* around the passage from Cicero.³ He traces the extension of partial or full citizenship during the Republic through Rome's development of the colonial and municipal system and shows how, under the empire, Roman citizenship became universalized. To his admirable treatment, the present discussion can add nothing new in the way of interpretation. But his method of presentation for the period of the Republic does not make the development of the concept of dual citizenship easy to follow. Moreover he fails to take account, except incidentally, of the possibility that the final concept of Roman citizenship reflects the experience not only of Rome's expansion in Italy but also of the Hellenistic world.⁴ The following pages are, therefore, an attempt to show how in this, as in so many other respects, the civilization and culture of the Roman Empire synthesized Italic and Greek elements. Cicero himself was a major contributor to this process of synthesis. In the passage in question, he compares, though without suggesting a direct connection, the situation of the Italians with that of the inhabitants of Attica before the "synoekismos" of Theseus made them Athenians. Previously, he says, they were at once citizens of their villages and of Attica.⁵

The *de Legibus* was begun in close connection with the *de Re*

Publica. Though the latter was published in 51 B.C., the *de Legibus* was perhaps composed only in the early months of 43 B.C. and left unfinished at Cicero's death.⁶ It might, therefore, be argued that Cicero's concept of *germana patria* reflects the development and regulation of the Italian municipalities by Caesar. Caesar, in turn, may well have been influenced by the political experience of the Hellenistic world.⁷ But Cicero does not really admit dual citizenship; he says of Cato the Elder: "so, since he was a Tusculan by birth, by citizenship a Roman, he had one fatherland of home, another of law."⁸

Some years earlier, in 56 B.C., Cicero defended a subordinate of Caesar, named L. Cornelius Balbus, against a charge that he had no right to Roman citizenship.⁹ Balbus came from Gades in Spain and served under Pompey during the seventies in the war against Sertorius. Pompey was empowered by the *lex Gellia Cornelia* of 72 B.C. to reward individual non-Romans with citizenship, and Balbus was one so rewarded.¹⁰ The attack on him in 56 B.C. was obviously in fact an attempt to discredit Caesar and Pompey. It was based on a legal concept which must by then have been archaic. This concept was that a community must voluntarily accept a piece of Roman legislation, or in the technical term, *fundus fieri*, and that since Gades had not done so for the *lex Gellia Cornelia*, the grant to Balbus was not valid.¹¹ Cicero argued that individual grants of citizenship did not require action by the community but that it rested with the individual to decide to which community he would belong. He does not, however, appeal to any possibility of dual citizenship; on the contrary, he states directly that: *duarum civitatum civis noster esse iure civili nemo potest*.¹² He contrasts this principle of Roman civil law that Roman citizenship should be exclusive with the practice of certain Greek cities in his day which permitted dual citizenship. He even blames certain Roman citizens, who, forgetful of the Roman principle that they would lose their citizenship if they adopted another, had accepted citizenship in Greek cities and participated in their civic life.¹³ From Cicero's plea it may be concluded that the exclusive nature of Roman citizenship was in fact breaking down both because of its extension to members of other communities and because of the acceptance of other citizenships by Romans, particularly in the Greek east.

The Greek background may perhaps be treated first. Greek citizenship seems to have been generally exclusive at least until the end of the fifth century B.C. In the Athenian empire, the subject states

retained their independent internal constitutions and their own citizenship. Athenian control was exercised through resident overseers, through Athenian control of their foreign relations and generally of matters affecting the empire as a whole, through the payment of the tribute to Athens, and through the reference of legal cases above a certain magnitude to Athens.¹⁴ Even when the Athenian confederacy was revived under much milder terms in 377 B.C., the experiment of dual citizenship, which, as will be shown shortly, had already been tried briefly for Samos, was not generalized.¹⁵ During the fifth century, however, Athens developed a type of colony called a *κληρουχία*. This was a military settlement of Athenian citizens established in subject territory to maintain Athenian control. Some of the klerouchies were hardly more than garrison posts, whose members remained part of the Athenian army and were controlled by an Athenian officer. Others, however, achieved an independent civic constitution and had only the obligation to aid Athens with their separate military forces. This distinction corresponds curiously to the distinction between Roman and Latin colonies in Italy.¹⁶ The second type of klerouchy differed from the older Greek colonies, or *ἀποικίαι*, in that the older form became an independent community, with its own citizenship and bound to the mother city only by ties of sentiment and common blood, or *συγγένεια*.¹⁷ But the Athenian citizenship of the fully self-governing klerouchy must have been largely a legal fiction with no practical value except a favored status in the eyes of the Athenian state. While the klerouchies founded in the fifth century were almost all abolished at the end of the Peloponnesian War, three were recreated during the fourth century and remained Athenian until Roman times.¹⁸ In the Athenian klerouchy, therefore, was adumbrated the possibility of a common and a local citizenship.

Occasionally Greek states would incorporate in their citizen body previously unenfranchised elements or would extend their citizenships to persons who had lost their own. It was natural to call such a grant one of *ισοπολιτεία*, or "equal citizenship," equal, that is, to that possessed by the original citizens. The earliest literary use of this word seems to be in a quotation by Photius from Aristotle's "Constitution of Samos," one of the one hundred and fifty-eight studies of constitutions prepared as the basis of his *Politics*.¹⁹ According to Photius, Aristotle said that the Samians, after the oppression of their tyrants had reduced the number of citizens, registered isopolity, or equal citizenship, for those of their slaves who could pay a price of five

staters. The reference is presumably to the period after the death of Polycrates and the expulsion of Maeandrus, shortly after 525 B.C.²⁰ The term "isopolity" itself, however, need not be older than Aristotle. Diodorus Siculus, about the middle of the first century B.C., uses "isopolity" for the grant of citizenship by Athens to the Plataeans who took refuge with her in 427 B.C., after the Spartans seized their native city.²¹ Here again the use of the term is late.

The concept of a double citizenship by which one city admitted to its civic rights active citizens of another first appears in an inscription of 405 B.C. This is one of several inscribed together and recording Athenian gratitude to the Samians who had stood by her towards the close of the Peloponnesian War. In 412 B.C., the Samian democrats overthrew the oligarchy dominant in the island, actively supported Athens through the victory of Arginusae, and suppressed an oligarchic uprising.²² In recompense, the Athenians voted, among other thanks and honors, "that the Samians shall be Athenians, yet be governed as they wish, . . . using their own laws and being autonomous."²³ Foucart, who first discussed in detail this inscription, called this act "un fait unique dans l'histoire grecque."²⁴ Previous extensions of citizenship had been, as remarked above, to the unenfranchised or otherwise stateless. Here Athens permitted the Samians to become citizens of Athens without surrendering their own Samian independence and did not in turn ask for a similar privilege for Athenians in Samos. The inscription does not call this grant "isopolity" or "sympolity" but it affords the earliest known case of dual citizenship in Greece. Unfortunately, the experiment was short-lived, since in 404 B.C., after the fall of Athens, Lysander the Spartan took Samos by storm, expelled the democrats, and restored the oligarchy.²⁵ As has been said, Athens did not apply this fruitful idea to her second confederacy. However, Xenophon informs us that in 374 B.C. Olynthus adopted a similar type of relationship for its allied towns.²⁶ The inhabitants of these were admitted to some sort of citizenship in Olynthus, and Olynthus insisted on the use of a common legal system and on a general sharing among all her allies of the private rights of intermarriage and of the possession of property. In this case, Xenophon specifically uses the verb *συμπολιτεύειν*. The relation resembles that between Rome and her Latin allies, which will be discussed later. However, in 379 B.C., Sparta dissolved this Chalcidic League and absorbed Olynthus into her own symmarchy.

The noun derived from Xenophon's verb, *συμπολιτεία*, appears to have been first used by Polybius to describe the citizenship of the

Achaean League in the second century B.C.²⁷ In this league, the citizens of individual member cities not only were citizens of the League as such but also, like the allies of Olynthus, enjoyed mutual rights of intermarriage and the possession of property, though probably not the right of acquiring full citizenship in another member city by transfer of residence thither.²⁸ The Aetolian League seems also to have provided for a federal citizenship alongside citizenship in the individual tribes or cities and for the interchange of private rights.²⁹ It was perhaps, therefore, in these Leagues that previous sporadic experiments were generalized in practice to permit of either double citizenship in two distinct city-states or a common federal citizenship not incompatible with citizenship in the individual member states. Though the Greek terms are not so specifically defined, these two concepts may for convenience be called respectively "isopolity" and "sympolity."

Inscriptions from both Greece itself and the Greek east testify that the practice of granting isopolity was common from the fourth to the first century B.C. The evidence until 1916 is collected by Oehler in his article on "isopoliteia" and need not be reviewed here.³⁰ Oehler points out that the inscriptions belong almost wholly to non-Ionian areas.³¹ This contrasts with Cicero's citation of Athens along with Rhodes and Sparta as examples of cities which in his day extended this privilege freely.³² The practice probably appeared in Athens only under Roman domination, when, as the statement in Cicero and Nepos' remark that Atticus refused Athenian citizenship show, both Greeks and Romans were flattered to be so honored by the center of Greek culture.³³ By the time of Augustus, sale of citizenship had become abused to provide the city with revenue. The first emperor tried to put a stop to this practice as unbecoming to the noble traditions of Athens.³⁴

Oehler distinguishes three types of isopolity: grants of its citizenship by one city to one or more citizens of another; grants of its citizenship by one city to all the citizens of another; and mutual grants by two cities to all the citizens of each.³⁵ Often the inscriptions list in addition to isopolity privileges which might be supposed to have been included in it, as possession of land, priority of trial, asylum, and particularly *προξενία*, or public protection. He concludes that isopolity had only a potential character. Perhaps, however, this piling up of privileges simply reflects the tendency to elaborate what had become in fact meaningless honors.

The practical development of isopolity is not reflected in the polit-

ical theory of the city-state as formulated by Plato and Aristotle. They advocated a self-governing and self-sufficient community as free as possible from external commitments and ties. More surprising is the generally slight effect on Greek political thought of the successful federal experiments of the fourth and later centuries, and particularly of the concept of a federal citizenship alongside a local one, or sympolity. Of Isocrates, the great proponent of Greek unity in the fourth century, Ernest Barker says that "the symmarchy of his dreams would have been a military entente of autonomous cities under . . . a chosen commander" and not a true national federation.³⁶

It is possible that Alexander conceived of a "world-state" in which all members, no matter what their race, would be equal. But he probably did not regard this equality as in any sense an exercise of politically effective citizenship.³⁷ At all events, the successor kingdoms of the Hellenistic period had no concept of common citizenship.³⁸ Exception should be made for the survival of the tribal citizenship of all Macedonians into the Hellenistic period. In so far as the Macedonian towns became, as Tarn says, autonomous cities with Greek city-forms, there must have been in Macedon a sort of sympolity, but this was not extended to new foundations or to cities outside of Macedon which came under its control.³⁹

One further peculiarity of Hellenistic cities may be mentioned, though its bearing on the question of double citizenship is dubious. In some cities ethnic groups of non-Greeks apparently had an independent civic organization of their own distinct from that of the Greeks and dependent for common action only on the royal governors. This phenomenon may have been especially common in the Ptolemaic realm; at least the best example is that of the Jews in Alexandria, though even in this case the precise status is much discussed.⁴⁰ The edicts which Augustus issued to regulate affairs in Cyrene suggest the existence of at least a Jewish ethnic group there also.⁴¹ Whatever the political and juridical status of such subdivisions within Hellenistic cities, they do not seem to be of importance for the development of the concepts of isopolity and sympolity.

The idea of common membership in a world-state which Alexander may have propounded but which was rejected politically by his successors was taken up philosophically by the Stoics. The early Stoics held that all men were citizens of a universal community ruled by reason. This, however, was for them incompatible with active participation in any lesser, man-made state. In consequence they advo-

cated a withdrawal from politics almost as anarchistic as that urged by the Epicureans.⁴² The later Stoics, particularly Panaetius and Poseidonius, from whom the Romans derived their political theories in the late second and early first centuries B.C., reacted from this extreme position and admitted the need in practical affairs for lesser political units and for more active political participation by the individual.⁴³ For them, membership in the universal city of reason was not, therefore, incompatible with citizenship in a city-state provided that this was run according to the dictates of reason.⁴⁴

Thus the political experience of the Greeks from the fourth century had developed in practice the possibility of holding citizenship in two city-states contemporaneously, or isopolity. The Achaean and Aetolian Leagues had also achieved a federal citizenship over and above citizenship in member city-states, or sympolity. Neither of these concepts played any large part in the formation of the Hellenistic monarchies, which remained simply territorial agglomerations of diverse political organizations under personal and dynastic rule. Moreover, these breaches in the concept of the exclusiveness of citizenship were possible in large measure because citizenship was declining from the Aristotle definition of ruling and being ruled in turn, that is, an active sharing in the political life of the city, and was becoming simply a privilege or honor.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the common practice of isopolity made it easy for the Greeks to accept Roman citizenship without surrendering active citizenship in their own communities, and the Stoic idea of membership in the community of all mankind made possible the shift in the concept of Rome from that of a city to that of the *orbis terrarum*.⁴⁶

The influence of Greek political experience and thought on the early institutions of Rome will always be a matter of dispute. Some think that similarities arose from a common Indo-European origin and from similar environmental factors which conditioned the political developments. Others argue for early contact between Rome and South Italian Greeks or even Greece itself.⁴⁷ There is, moreover, the possibility that Greek influence in political matters, as in cultural, was transmitted to Rome by the Etruscans.⁴⁸ Cicero, as has been remarked, records what he regarded as the traditional Roman view that citizenship in Rome was incompatible with membership in any other community.⁴⁹ Yet from a very primitive period, this exclusiveness seems not to have existed with respect to the neighboring Latins. Rome's relations with the Latin League were traditionally regulated by a treaty attributed to Spurius Cassius in 493 B.C. Similar early

treaties are mentioned between Rome and individual cities. According to tradition, these treaties provided for mutual exchange of the private rights of citizenship, namely intermarriage, or *connubium*, and trade and possession of property, or *commercium*. It was further possible for a Latin who came to Rome and, presumably, for a Roman who moved to a Latin community to take up full citizenship in his new place of residence if he surrendered that in his former one. This is the same idea which appears in Cicero's discussion of the surrender of Roman citizenship and acquisition of another in event of exile, and the recovery of Roman citizenship on return by *postliminium*.⁵⁰ Sherwin-White concludes that this early relationship, called *Latinitas*, shows a sense of community between Romans and Latins which reflects an early, tribal, concept of citizenship, like the Macedonian, rather than a civic one. The primitive villages would have been merely inhabited centers of the widespread tribe, as Cicero conceived of Attica before Theseus.⁵¹ It may be, however, that some such relations existed between the members of the Etruscan confederation, about which all too little is known, and was derived thence by the Romans.⁵² Or it may be that in an area geographically so close-knit and economically so interdependent as Latium, intermarriage and common trade and ready shift of residence were obvious, practical conveniences in a period when the Roman had not yet developed a sense of the city-state, with exclusive citizenship.

After the revolt of the Latins and their defeat in 338 B.C., Rome broke up the old League, permitted the absorption of lesser communities by larger, and entered into separate treaties with these individually.⁵³ Though the Latin cities were forbidden to have relations with one another, the privileges of *Latinitas* vis-à-vis Rome do not seem to have been changed. Whether or not the Latins were really regarded as in a treaty relationship with Rome, *foederati*, they came to be called the *nomen Latinum* or, perhaps later on the analogy of Rome's other allies, the *socii nominis Latini*.⁵⁴ This term included the Latin colonies, which Romans and Latins joined to form as new, independent communities enjoying their own civic character and granted Latin privileges by Rome.⁵⁵ *Latinitas*, therefore, constituted a breach in the concept of an exclusive Roman citizenship, if this existed at so early a date, but it did not represent a full isopolity. Private rights might be mutual, but active citizenship, as exercised through voting and holding office, was restricted to one community.

At the same time that Rome altered her relations with the Latins, she was faced with the problem of how to treat non-Latin com-

munities over whom the wars of the second half of the fourth century extended her power. In particular, she found in Campania fully developed city-states, either Greek or Oscan under Greek influence. These communities would not readily accept absorption into the Roman state; yet Rome was unwilling to hold them in complete subjection. She therefore dealt with them as she had with the Latins; she left them their own civic entity and internal self-control and extended to them the private privileges of Roman citizenship. At first, probably, this treatment was regarded as a privilege and differed from *Latinitas* only in that change of residence to Rome did not entitle a citizen of one of these communities to take up full Roman citizenship. Later, this "citizenship without the vote," *civitas sine suffragio*, was regarded as a status inferior to full citizenship. Moreover, these communities were, like the Latins, bound to assist Rome in her wars and it is perhaps from this obligation that the term arose for such a city, "burden sharer," *municipium*, and that for an inhabitant thereof, *municeps*.⁵⁶

A third factor which altered the character of Roman citizenship was the extension of Rome's own territory. Initially, those areas which were incorporated into the Roman state were conceived of as simply extensions of its territory and the inhabitants who became new citizens were constituted into new tribes. In the later third century, however, this process stopped after the creation of the thirty-fifth tribe in 241 B.C. This change was probably not so much a definitely reached decision to change the policy as simply an unwillingness thereafter to extend the tribal system. Two reasons may have contributed to this unwillingness. The Romans must have realized that their territory was now extended so far that the active exercise of citizenship was less possible for those living on its outskirts. Also the controlling aristocracy may have desired not to increase the number of units in the tribal assembly, either because this would make its organization too cumbersome or because they would find numerous units less easy to control.⁵⁷ At all events, after 241 B.C., new citizens, whether incorporated as individuals or in communities or groups, were enrolled in one or more of the existing tribes.⁵⁸ When a whole community received the citizenship, as did Cicero's Arpinum in 188 B.C., it seems likely that preëxisting local self-government continued to function. This is suggested by the fact that Cicero, despite his belief in the exclusive character of Roman citizenship, saw no incongruity in letting his son and nephew stand for office in Arpinum in 46 B.C.⁵⁹ The argument of Rudolph that full self-gov-

ernment for the communities of Italy did not exist until Caesar created it by his *lex Iulia municipalis* has not been generally accepted.⁶⁰ Without entering into the complicated problems connected with the local officials in Roman and Latin *municipia*, it may at least be concluded that the continuance of preëxisting arrangements in communities which received full Roman citizenship constituted a further weakening of the exclusive character of that citizenship.⁶¹

Rome's responsibilities in Italy led her, also in the second half of the fourth century, to station garrisons of Roman soldiers at key points, such as, initially, Ostia and Antium on the coast of Latium. At first these settlements of only three hundred men with their families probably had little self-government and were in no way conceived of as new communities, like the Latin colonies.⁶² But as the number grew and the new ones were farther and farther from Rome, local self-government must have developed. At all events, after the end of the Second Punic War, Rome changed her policy and founded colonies of Roman citizens of larger size and with full civic institutions, like the Latin colonies.⁶³ Thus by the first century B.C. there were on the one hand *municipia* with full Roman citizenship or with citizenship without the vote, as well as the Latin cities, and on the other, colonies of Roman citizens and those with Latin rights. Latin rights came in fact to amount to nothing more than the citizenship without the vote. Both *municipia* and colonies had full local self-government in contrast to less-well-developed communities which were administered by officials sent out from Rome, such as prefectures, market centers, and the like.⁶⁴

But the proportion of Roman Italy, that is Italy south of the Apennines, and of its inhabitants which, before 90 B.C., enjoyed full or partial citizenship was undoubtedly less than a half of the total.⁶⁵ The bulk of the fully developed cities of Italy had either not been offered citizenship or had preferred to retain their own identities. These cities were controlled by Rome through treaties and were called the Italian allies, *socii* or *foederati*.⁶⁶ They had great local pride, particularly the Greek cities in south Italy. When the allies revolted from Rome in 90 B.C., it was not because Rome had refused them incorporation into her civic organization but because she was interfering arbitrarily in their local affairs and abusing their corporate and personal rights.⁶⁷ Rome's offer of citizenship in 90 and 89 B.C. was accepted not as an incorporation into the Roman state but as a guarantee of fair treatment by Rome.⁶⁸ Cicero says that some communities, like Heracleia and Naples, hesitated to accept

citizenship for fear that it would mean surrender of their traditional local autonomy.⁶⁹ The Hellenistic concept of isopolity does not appear to be attested for South Italy and Sicily, but it must have been known and would have made natural the acceptance of Roman citizenship without surrender of local citizenship. The result of the Social Wars and of the process of assimilation which went on until Caesar's time was that Italy south of the Po comprised undeveloped areas administered from Rome and a large number of city-states, either colonies or *municipia*, with their own local self-government and active political life, but also possessed of Roman citizenship.⁷⁰ It was thus easy to conceive that a Roman citizen might participate politically in a community other than Rome, even though strict legalists might not call him a citizen of such a community.⁷¹

The developments in Roman citizenship during the Republic afford many parallels to those in Greek citizenship. Latin rights and citizenship without the vote resemble the arrangements made between members in the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues and earlier between Olynthus and her allies. In general, they suggest Greek isopolity. The Roman colonies were not unlike Athenian *klerouchies*. By the mid-first century B.C., Roman citizenship had become for Italy what the common citizenship of the Greek Leagues was for their member cities, a sympolity not inconsistent with local citizenship. It may be that these breaches in the exclusiveness of early Roman citizenship were the gradual result of practical arrangements and that, as Cicero held, the concept of Roman citizenship remained exclusive. It may be that, in the early days, such a concept did not exist, that the sense of tribal relationship enabled the Romans to share the privileges of citizenship with the Latins, and that the success of this relationship encouraged them to use it for communities less close and less akin to themselves. If so, by the time that the Romans acquired self-consciousness of themselves as a city-state rather than as a tribe, perhaps only after they came in contact with Greek cities and Greek ideas, their citizenship had in fact been already widely shared. The result, whether due to independent processes or to borrowing of ideas or to a fusion of both, was that in Italy of the late Republic, as in Greece of the Hellenistic period, the practice of dual citizenship must have been common, even if Roman law did not admit it.

It is not the purpose here to study the extension of Roman citizenship in the provinces. Certainly, at first, Rome made no effort in this direction. In the provinces which she annexed during the second century, she governed directly where political backwardness necessitated

this, but she preferred to deal with responsible local authorities, either individual rulers or organized city-states. She showed great respect for the freedom of these last and regulated their relationship to herself by treaties. Only gradually did she assume a more domineering attitude towards them.⁷² Latin colonies were founded in Spain and Narbonese Gaul during the last two centuries of the Republic to provide both for veterans and for Italian settlers. But Roman colonies appear in the provinces only under Caesar and the triumvirs, and spread east of the Adriatic chiefly under the early Empire.⁷³ At first full citizenship was confined to areas of strong Italian immigration. Provincial communities received only the half-citizenship, which was now called *Latinitas*.⁷⁴ Sherwin-White ably describes the ever more generous extension of citizenship under the Empire and the shift of the concept thereof from a civic to an imperial comprehensiveness. This trend culminated in Caracalla's grant of Roman citizenship to all, or practically all, of the inhabitants of the Empire in 212 A.D.⁷⁵ While, in reality the *Constitutio Antoniniana* marks the end of the city-state and of active political citizenship, in theory it must have been accepted as not incompatible with local citizenship in the multitude of colonies, *municipia*, and non-Roman city-states throughout the empire.⁷⁶

This discussion has sought to show that in the development of the concept of dual citizenship, Roman and local, such as appears in Paul's statements about himself, account must be taken not only of Roman political developments but also of the Greek devices for dual citizenship which have been somewhat arbitrarily defined as isopolity, citizenship in two city-states at once, and sympolity, citizenship both in a city-state and in a more widespread political unit like a league. The political ideal of the Stoics, of one universal state, was also important. The two halves of the Roman world were therefore ready to welcome the possibility of an imperial as well as a local citizenship. From this possibility descended the recognition in later political theory and practice that an individual may be an active member contemporaneously in a smaller and in a larger political unit.⁷⁷ In this process as in so much else, Cicero gave expression to both the past and the future, to the east and to the west. He interpreted Roman political history in the light of Greek political theory. He contrasted the isopolity of Athens, Sparta, and Rhodes with what he conceived to be the principle of Roman civil law that Roman citizenship was exclusive. At the same time he admitted both the sentimental and the practical claims of the local community, the

germana patria. It is appropriate, therefore, that a study of the Greek and Roman background of the concept of dual citizenship should end with one who, though he fixed his eyes on the Roman Republic of the past, yet was conscious of the problems which necessitated the Empire of the future, and even adumbrated solutions by which the founder of that Empire, Augustus, could claim to be a restorer of the Republic. And it is equally appropriate that this study should appear as a tribute to a scholar devoted to Cicero.

CONCLUDING NOTE ON *Fundus Fieri* (cf. p. 165, n. 11)

The phrase *fundus fieri* and the term *municipium fundanum*, which has been related to it by some scholars, merit fuller treatment than was appropriate in the foregoing article, if only to bring together the sources and references to modern literature. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, VI.1, 1580, discusses this phrase under *fundus* II B, *de hominibus*. It relates the word to the more general noun, which means either "foundation, base," col. 1574, under I, or "a piece of public land assigned to citizens to cultivate," col. 1575, under II A. In col. 1573, it derives *fundus* from a root meaning "base"; see also A. Walde, *Lat. Et. Wörterbuch* (ed. 2 by J. B. Hoffman, 1938) I, 564; A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dict. Et. de la Lang. Lat.* (ed. 2, 1939), 401. Cicero, *pro Balbo* 8.20, indicates the same derivation when he says: *si ea lex . . . in populo aliquo tamquam in fundo resedisset*.

The *Thesaurus* divides the uses of *fundus fieri*, in the legal sense under consideration here, into two subdivisions, both derived from the basic meaning of "foundation." Of persons it is used to mean, according to the *Thesaurus*, *auctor*, that is, "authority," but a better attempt to preserve the impersonal concept might be "guarantee." The *Thesaurus* cites for this meaning two passages from Plautus. In *Trinummus*, 1123, one of the characters says of a father who will confirm arrangements made by his son: *ei rei fundus pater sit potior*. Nixon, Loeb ed. V, 213, translates: "to get my arrangement with the son put on a firmer footing." In *Truculentus*, 727, a girl says of her lover: *nunc est fundus nobis*. Here, however, some editors think that *fundus* is used metaphorically in the sense of "farm." For instance, Lindsay, in the Oxford text, follows Schoell in reading *novos* for the mss. *nobis* and Nixon, Loeb ed. V, 299, translates *fundus nobis* as "our real estate." Paulus/Festus (ed. Lindsay [Teubner, 1913], 79 = Müller, 89 = Thewrewky, 63 = Bruns/Gradenwitz, *Fontes* II, 10) similarly define *fundus* as *auctor*: *fundus dicitur ager, quod*

planus sit ad similitudinem fundi vasorum. Fundus quoque dicitur populus esse rei quam (codd. quem) alienat; hoc est auctor.

The *Thesaurus* includes under this meaning of "authority" a passage from Aulus Gellius, XIX.8.12, in which Fronto quotes the authority of Caesar for a grammatical point and concludes: *sed haec ego, inquit, dixi, non ut huius sententiae legisque fundus subscriptorque fierem, sed ut ne Caesaris, viri docti, opinionem ἀπαρμόθητον destituerem*. Rolfe, Loeb ed. III, 377, translates this: "my authority and signature." But Fronto's meaning seems closer to the second sense, namely, that in which Cicero uses *fundus*. Fronto means that he does not adopt and subscribe to Caesar's opinion and law, as a *populus* might become *fundus* to a piece of Roman legislation.

For this second meaning the only significant source is the discussion in the *pro Balbo*, especially sec. 8.19-20; for other references in the speech, see the *Thesaurus*. Cicero states that an independent community, originally one of the *socii populi ac Latini* but later any one in a treaty relation with Rome, *foederata*, might by its own act become subject to a piece of Roman legislation, or, presumably, though Cicero does not so state explicitly, to all of Roman law. The offer must originate from Rome, sec. 8.21, that is, the community cannot adopt the Roman law on its own initiative, but the community must itself also explicitly consent thereto, *fundus fieri*; see J. Elmore, "*Municipia Fundana*," *Trans. Am. Philol. Assn.* XLVII (1916), 35-42, especially p. 36. Rome could not arbitrarily impose its law on a separate community, even if in fact, by surrender or treaty, the consent of the community was forced. In this second sense, as in the first, the rendering of *fundus* by an English noun of personal agency, as "acceptor," while desirable for intelligibility, obscures the impersonal concept derived from the basic meaning of "foundation." In several instances Cicero pluralizes *fundus* when he uses the plural of *populus*, for instance in sec. 8.20, *populos fieri fundos*; sec. 8.21, *qui fundi populi facti non essent*; the other cases may be found in the *Thesaurus*. At first sight, he might be thought to have conceived of *fundus* in these cases as a predicate adjective, but, as Professors Elder and Pease suggest and as the *Thesaurus* indicates, he meant rather that the various people became separate *fundi*, bases or foundations, of Roman law.

It is not improbable that later definitions of *fundus fieri* derived from the *pro Balbo*. Apart from Paulus/Festus, quoted above, the only other attempt at a definition is in Aulus Gellius, XVI.13.6. Gellius has said that in his day great confusion existed between

municipium and *colonia*, so that inhabitants of the latter called themselves *municipes*. He then quotes Hadrian's speech to the people of Italica in Spain, when he urged them to remain a *municipium* instead of becoming a *colonia*; see p. 173, n. 69. He goes on: *municipes ergo sunt cives Romani ex municipiis, legibus suis et suo iure utentes, muneris tantum cum populo Romano honorari participes, a quo munere capessendo appellati viderentur, nullis aliis necessitatibus neque ulla populi Romani lege adstricti, nisi in quam populus eorum fundus factus est. . . .* (8) *Sed coloniarum alia necessitudo est; non enim veniunt extrinsecus in civitatem nec suis radicibus nituntur, sed ex civitate quasi propagatae sunt et iura institutaque omnia populi Romani, non sui arbitrii, habent.* Gellius has been accused of confusion, as by Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* III, 796 n. 3, by Elmore, p. 37, and by Kornemann, art. "municipium" in *RE* XVI(31), 575. Elmore regards the confusion as a misunderstanding of antiquarian institutions, Kornemann as a description of what was true in the time of Hadrian. But Gellius seems to have been correct in thinking that the original acceptance of Roman law, and of the *civitas sine suffragio*, by the *municipia* was a bilateral act, comprising an offer by Rome and an acceptance by the community, either through a formal agreement or implicitly on surrender to Rome; see A. Schulten, art. "fundus fieri" in De Ruggiero, *Diz. Ep. di Ant. Rom.* III, 347-348. Zdz. Zmigryder-Knopoka, in his article on "Les relations politiques entre Rome et la Campanie" in *Eos* XXXII (1929), 594-595, instances as a concrete case of the adoption of Roman law the presence in the *lex Osca tabulae Bantinae*, Bruns/Gradenwitz *Fontes* I, no. 8 = Riccobono, *Fontes I (Leges)* (ed. 2), no. 6 (Latin only), of a *praefectus* alongside the local officials; see sec. 5 of the law. He compares this with the praefects who administered justice in Capua, Cumae, and other *municipia* on behalf of Rome.

Acceptance of Roman law did not originally mean the complete assimilation of local institutions and law to those of Rome, as Aulus Gellius saw; see Sherwin-White, 40. Paulus/Festus (ed. Lindsay, 126 = Müller, 122 = Thewrewky, 123 = Bruns/Gradenwitz II, 15) give a passage attributed by the manuscripts variously to *Servilius* or *Ser. filius* and which Kornemann, *RE* XVI(31) 673, thinks came from Cicero's contemporary, the jurist Servius Sulpicius: *At Servius (?filius?) aiebat initio (i.e. municipes) fuisse, qui ea condicione cives Romani (om. Lindsay, following some codd.) fuissent, ut semper rem publicam separatim a populo Romano haberent, Cumanos, Acerranos, Atellanos, qui aequae (?cives Romani erant et in legione*

merebant, sed dignitate non capiebant?). Though in this definition of *municipes*, Paulus/Festus call them Roman (?) citizens, the definition of *municipium* (Lindsay, 155 = Müller, 127 = Thewrewky, 159 = Bruns/Gradenwitz II, 15) states *neque cives Romani essent*. Moreover, the statement just quoted from Paulus/Festus (ed. Lindsay, 126) that the *municipia* had a separate *rem publicam*, while consistent with Aulus Gellius XVI.13.6, is not completely so with the implication of the earlier definition of *fundus* in Paulus/Festus (ed. Lindsay, 79), namely, that a *populus* which became *fundus* alienated something, presumably its own citizenship or institutions so far as it accepted those of Rome. But Paulus/Festus' definition of *fundus* in any case confuses its use for a *populus*, meaning "acceptor," and its use for a person, as in Plautus, meaning *auctor*. This definition would make more sense if it could be shown to be corrupted from an original reading something like: *fundus quoque dicitur populus esse legis quam acceptat, hoc est auctor*. But the only variant cited is *quem* for *quam*. In any case, whatever the bearing of the definitions of *municeps* and *municipium* on the development of *municipia*, and Kornemann discusses this ably, they do not illuminate the definition of *fundus fieri*. This definition, in turn, is too confused to cast any light on the problem beyond that afforded by Cicero and Aulus Gellius.

Modern discussions of *fundus fieri* have been further complicated by the occurrence of the phrase *municipio fundano* in the so-called *lex Iulia municipalis*, line 160. This document was found on a bronze tablet at Heracleia, in south Italy, and has often been published, for instance in *CIL* I, 206; Dessau, no. 6085; Bruns/Gradenwitz, *Fontes* I, no. 18; Riccobono, *Fontes I (Leges)* (ed. 2), no. 13. Internal evidence shows that it dates from the time of Caesar and has led to its identification with a *lex municipalis* mentioned by the jurists. This in turn has been identified with a *lex Iulia municipalis* mentioned in an inscription from Padua, Dessau, no. 5406; see E. G. Hardy, *Roman Laws and Charters* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912) I, 136. The last clause, lines 159-163, provides that Roman commissioners might make changes in the laws of a *municipium fundanum* at any time within a year after the passing of the law in question. It refers to the inhabitants as *municeps fundanos*. The *Thesaurus*, VI.1, 1555, accepts the derivation of the adjective *fundanus* from *fundus* in the sense under discussion; see also Hardy, 161-163 n. 23. This would mean that by Caesar's day the loss of local initiative in *municipia*, at least in those which had become *fundus* to Roman law, had reached the point

where Roman commissioners could regulate their affairs at will. The *Thesaurus*, however, points out that Gradenwitz advanced a different view, which is now generally accepted, as by Kornemann, *RE* XVI(31), 585-587, and Sherwin-White, 143. According to this interpretation, the regulations on the tablet from Heracleia do not represent a single act of legislation, but a collection applicable to different towns, and perhaps put together by Antony out of Caesar's papers after his death. The last clause refers not to a class of *municipia* but specifically to Fundi, which was one of the earliest communities to receive the *civitas sine suffragio*, in 338 B.C., and may have set the pattern for the municipal relationship; Sherwin-White, 45; *RE* VII(13), 293. H. Rudolph, *Stadt und Staat* (p. 172, n. 60), 176-186, especially p. 181, suggested an alternative derivation in order to keep the *lex Iulia mun.* as Caesar's fundamental regulation for the municipalization of Italy. He proposed that a *municipium fundanum* was one founded on assigned land, or *fundi*. This meaning of *fundanus* is otherwise unattested; at best a late Latin gloss quoted by the *Thesaurus* reads: *fundanus rusticus qui colit fundos, etc.* Hence Rudolph's interpretation is rejected by Sherwin-White, 142-143, and M. Cary, *Journal of Roman Studies* XXVII (1937), 51-52. In view, therefore, of the general acceptance of Gradenwitz's identification of the *municipium fundanum* in the tablet from Heracleia with the town of Fundi, this clause of the so-called *lex Iulia-municipalis* can no longer be used to illuminate the meaning of *fundus fieri*.

It appears, therefore, that the only "classical" discussion of *fundus fieri* is that by Cicero in the *pro Balbo*. Aulus Gellius may make more sense than modern critics have thought and may have sought information outside of Cicero, but he does not add anything significant to Cicero's discussion. Paulus/Festus, even if the text is sound, are confused between the meaning of *fundus* as *auctor*, attested in Plautus, and the meaning of "acceptor," in the phrase *fundus fieri* and perhaps in Gellius' quotation from Fronto. H. Kaden, *Quaestionum ad Cic. Balb. spect. cap. tria* (Berlin, Denter & Nicolas, 1912), 39-58, especially pp. 42-43, therefore concluded that the accuser of Balbus had revived an ancient technicality. Cicero accepted the civil-law meaning of *fundus fieri* but argued that the concept did not apply to acceptance of Roman citizenship by an individual, who was not bound to consult his community if he exchanged its citizenship for that of another. In fact, Rome's dealings with communities outside Italy after the conquest of the Mediterranean and the Social War must have been conducted with little regard for the traditional niceties of

Roman civil law. Cicero was justified in appealing to recent precedent and common sense as against archaic tradition.

NOTES

1. *De Leg.* II.1.1-2.5. For Arpinum, see below nn. 59-60.

2. When Paul was arrested in Jerusalem for causing a commotion, he was taken before the tribune of the guard. He said that he was a Jew from Tarsus, οὐκ ἀσκήμων πόλεως πολίτης, which the Vulgate translates *non ignotae civitatis municeps*; Acts 21.39, see below n. 40. The tribune then allowed him to address the crowd and when the tumult grew, ordered him to be flogged. Paul then told the centurion that he was a Roman, ἄνθρωπον Ῥωμαῖον = *hominem Romanum*, and the centurion took him back to the tribune. The tribune asked him if he was a Roman, Ῥωμαῖος = *Romanus*, and Paul said "Yes." Then the tribune said that for a great sum he had bought his citizenship, πολιτείαν = *civilitatem*. Paul replied: Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ γεγέννημαι = *ego autem et natus sum*; Acts 22:25-29. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, III, 1219, cites this passage for the meaning *civilitas* = *de iure civis* and notes that some codices read *civitatem*. The present paper resulted in part from a question which Professor H. J. Cadbury of the Harvard Divinity School asked about double citizenship in connection with this passage in Acts.

3. A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1939), which will be cited hereafter as Sherwin-White. See also Charlotte E. Goodfellow's Bryn Mawr Thesis, *Roman Citizenship* (Lancaster, Pa., Lancaster Press, 1935). This deals more specifically with the extension of Roman citizenship during the Republic and under Augustus than does Sherwin-White. The effect of the Social War and the passage from Cicero's *de Leg.* are briefly discussed on pp. 24-25. Miss Goodfellow analyzes the extension of citizenship as evidenced in the census list, by grants of generals, through the intermarriage of Roman traders in the provinces, by admission to the army, by the founding of colonies and municipalities outside of Italy, by individual grants of Caesar, Antony, and Augustus, and by manumission. Only by implication does she treat of double citizenship.

4. The Greek influence was suggested by Professor W. S. Ferguson of Harvard in the Ancient History Session of the American Historical Association meeting of December, 1949.

5. *de Leg.* II.2.5.

6. E. A. Robinson argues in his unpublished thesis, on deposit in the Harvard University Library, against the traditional view that the *de Leg.* was completed shortly after its dramatic date of 52 B.C. and in close connection with the *de Rep.*, and against the compromise view that it was begun in the fifties and completed around 45; for the last see Philippson, art. "M. Tullius Cicero; Philosophische Schriften," *REz* VII(13), col. 1122. Robinson argues for composition in January-June, 43 B.C. and incompleteness at Cicero's death in December; see the summary of his thesis in this vol., pp. 299-301, and an abstract of his argument in *Trans. Am. Philol. Assn.* LXXVII(1946), 321-322.

7. Rudolph (see below n. 60) apparently does not use the passage in the *de Leg.* to support his thesis of Caesar's municipalization of Italy; see his index of passages on p. 256. Nor does Rudolph indicate a Hellenistic precedent for his

assumed program. The program of Caesar has been much debated; Adcock, in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (= CAH) IX, 721-724, conservatively admits the possibility of some Hellenistic influences.

8. *De Leg.* II.2.5: *alteram loci patriam, alteram iuris*. The text of the final sentence of Cicero's brief discussion is unfortunately corrupt and does not make clear whether he conceived of two citizenships or one, but the latter is more likely in view of his statements in the *pro Balbo*. Vahlen's emendation, accepted by later editors, perhaps suggests too strongly a double citizenship; see Vahlen's ed. 2 (1883), 75, and Loeb ed., 376. Further detail will be found in Feldhügel's ed. (1852), I, 31 and II, 126-127.

9. For L. Cornelius Balbus, see art. "Cornelius no. 69" in *RE* IV(1), 1260-1268; the grant of citizenship is discussed in col. 1261 and Cicero's defense in col. 1263.

10. *Pro Balbo* 8.19; the law was passed on the advice of the Senate by the consuls of 72 B.C. and authorized *ut cives Romani sint ii quos Cn. Pompeius de consili sententia singillatim civitate donaverit*. The procedure is the same therefore as that of Pompey's father when he bestowed citizenship on some Spanish cavalry after his capture of Asculum in Picenum during the Social War, in 89 B.C.; *RE* I(2), 1527-1528. The grant is recorded in an inscription, Dessau, no. 8888, which reads in part: *ceives [Romanos fecit in castr]eis apud Asculum a.d. XIV k. Dec. (= 17 Nov.) ex lege Iulia. In consilio [fuerunt, etc.]*. Pompeius Strabo's triumph over Asculum is recorded in the *Fasti Triumphales* on VI k. Ian., Dec. 27, of the year DCLXIV, 89 B.C.; see A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII, fasc. I, 85. The *lex Iulia* was the law of 90 B.C. which extended citizenship to the Latins and allies who remained loyal to Rome, see below n. 68. Cicero, *pro Balbo* 8.21, specifically says that under the *lex Iulia* communities were not to receive the citizenship unless they accepted it, or became *fundus* (see above pp. 159-164). Yet Pompeius made the grant to the Spaniards individually; this in itself supports Cicero's argument for Balbus. See Elmore's article, cited in the next n., p. 38, and H. Kaden, *Quaest. ad Cic. Balb. spect.* (Berlin, Denter and Nicolas, 1912), 42-43.

11. The concept of *fundus fieri* is discussed above on pp. 159-164. J. Elmore, "Municipia Fundana," *Trans. Am. Philol. Assn.* XLVII (1916), 35-42, treats this concept with particular reference to the *pro Balbo*, though he accepts what later scholars regard as a mistaken connection of *municipia fundana* with *fundus fieri*. That the concept was archaic in Cicero's day is suggested by the fact that the passage in the *pro Balbo* is the chief source for its meaning and that later writers are not at all clear about it. For the use of archaic legal devices for political purposes, one may compare Caesar's revival of trial for *perduellio* in the case of Rabirius in 63 B.C. in order to arouse popular hostility against the use by the senate of the "last decree" as a political weapon. For a recent discussion of this case, see M. Gelzer's art. "M. Tullius Cicero als Politiker," *RE* 2 VII(13), 870-872. Archaic religious devices were similarly used; see L. R. Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (Sather Classical Lectures XXII, Berkeley, Calif., University of California Press, 1949), 76-97.

12. *Pro Balbo* 11.28; compare 12.29 and 30, *pro Caecina* 34.100. These passages are cited by F. De Visscher, *Les Édits d'Auguste découverts à Cyrène* (Louvain, Bureau de Receuil, 1940), 110 n. 1, in the course of his valuable discussion of the problem of double citizenship. As he points out, Nepos, *Att.* 3, states that Atticus refused Athenian citizenship *quod nonnulli ita interpretantur*

amitti civitatem Romanam alia adscita. This suggests that already the strictly legal view represented by Cicero was not that held by everybody. De Visscher thinks that the ease of recovery of Roman citizenship by *postliminium*, or simple return to residence in Rome, facilitated the blurring of the rule. Similarly a man who lost Roman citizenship by exile or by voluntary renunciation might become a citizen of another city, *pro Balbo* 12.29. See generally Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* III (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1887), 127-142, for the acquisition, loss, or exchange of citizenship.

13. *Pro Balbo* 12.30; compare the refusal of Atticus to accept Athenian citizenship, discussed in the previous note.

14. B. D. Merritt, "Athens and the Delian League," in *The Greek Political Experience* (Studies in honor of W. K. Prentice, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1941), 50-60; E. A. Freeman, *History of Federal Government in Greece and Italy* (ed. 2 by J. B. Bury, London, Macmillan, 1893), 18-24.

15. The constitution of the second Athenian confederacy is known from an inscription, *IG* (ed. 2) II.1 (= *IA* I.1), no. 43, recently discussed by M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, Clarendon Press) II (1948), no. 123. Lines 15-21 definitely prescribe an alliance between free and autonomous cities or tribes, each enjoying whatever constitution it prefers.

16. See Schulten's art. *κληροῦχοι* in *RE* XI(21), 814-832, especially col. 815 for difference from "apoikia" and "epoikia," col. 822 for the two types, and cols. 823-831 for legal and political relations with Athens.

17. See Oehler's articles *ἀποικία* in *RE* I(2), 2823-2825, and *ἐποικία* in *RE* VI(11), 227-228. The "epoikos" was a colonist sent to a colony already established. He became a member of that colony, with loss of any legal connection with his original city. See also A. R. Burns's art. "Colonization, Greek" in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 212-213. For *συγγένεια* see *RE* IV(8), 1368-1369; the full treatment will appear under "Verwandtenvereinigung." The word became a title of honor at the Hellenistic courts but apparently never had any political significance as a basis for common or dual citizenship; see the instances given in Liddell & Scott's *Greek Lexicon* (ed. by H. S. Jones) II, 1659. Relationship with Rome claimed on the basis of mythology was used by Greek cities to secure favored treatment, as is pointed out by J. Perret, *Les Origines de la légende troyenne de Rome* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1942), 28. He cites a decree of Lampsacus of 196 B.C. in which *συγγένεια* with the Romans is emphasized, *Inscr. Gr. ad res Romanas pertinentes* IV, no. 179 = Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Gr.*, no. 276, and the statement of Servius, *ad Aen.* III.12, that the people of Samothrace claimed to be *cognati Romanorum*. Segesta made a similar claim of *cognatio* with the Romans, Cicero, *In Verrem* II.IV 33.72.

18. A. W. Gomme, art. "Cleruchy" in *Ox. Class. Dict.*, 202. Salamis survived the Peloponnesian War; Samos, colonized between 360 and 350 B.C., was lost in 322; Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros survived as klerouchies until Roman times.

19. Liddell & Scott, *Gr. Lex.* (ed. Jones) I, 838, cite for the earliest literary use of *ισπολιτεία*, frag. 575 in *Aristotelis . . . Fragmenta*, ed. V. Rose (Leipzig, Teubner, 1886), 838. This is the same as no. 181 in C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (Paris, Didot) II (1893), 160. For Photius, see ed. S. A. Naber (Leipzig, Brill) II (1865), 144, under *Σαπίων ὁ δῆμος*; the same passage occurs in "Suidas," see ed. A. Adler (Leipzig, Teubner) IV (1935), 318. Photius is discussing why the Samian people was called *πολυγράμματος* and first cites this term from Aristophanes' *Babylonians*, then proceeds with Aristotle's explana-

tion and others. For the 158 constitutions, see Diogenes Laertius, V.27, and Rose, 16 line 135. In general for "Isopoliteia," see Oehler's article in *RE* IX(18), 2227-2231, on which much of the following discussion is based.

20. P. N. Ure, *CAH* IV, 92; Bürchner, art. "Samos" in *RE* I(2), 2214, and, for the passage from Aristotle, col. 2206.

21. Diod. Sic., XV.46. Oehler, *RE* IX(18), 2229, gives the date from Szanto, *Das griechische Bürgerrecht* (1892).

22. For the events, Bürchner, *RE* I(2), 2215.

23. *IG*(ed. 2) II.1 (= *IA* I.1), no. 1, recently published by M. N. Tod, *Sel. Gr. Inscr.* II, no. 97. Lines 12-16 read in part: δεδῶχθαι τῇ βούλῃ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Σαμίους Ἀθηναίους εἶναι, πολιτευομένους ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὶ βούλονται . . . τοῖς δὲ νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν αὐτονόμους ὄντας.

24. P. Foucart, "Athènes et Samos de 405 a 403," *Revue des Études Anciennes* I (1899), 181-207; the remark is on p. 193. In his translation, p. 185, he renders 'Αθηναίους by "citoyens d'Athènes"; compare the similar use of Πρωμαῖος for Roman citizen in the passage from Acts, above n. 2.

25. Foucart, 200-205. Besides the decree of 405 B.C., the stone has two others, the first of which, of 403/2 B.C., gives the votes moved by Cephisophon in honor of the exiled Samian democrats and in confirmation of the previous decrees. Whether the second motion was carried, is disputed. Foucart, 203, thinks that it was, as does Tod, 3. Foucart quotes Swoboda for the view that the motion failed and this view was excepted by Hicks & Hill in their *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* (1901), 168 on no. 81. If the motion passed, the exiled Samians would have held Athenian citizenship in the same way as did the Plataeans in 427 B.C., in compensation for the loss of their own. The third decree honors an individual Samian democrat.

26. Freeman, *Hist. Fed. Govt.* (ed. Bury), 151 n. 15, citing Xenophon, *Hell.* V.2.13: ἐφ' ὅτε χρῆσθαι νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ συμπολιτεύειν, and, for common rights, V.2.19. For the history of this Chalcidic League, see Schwahn's art. on *συμπολιτεία* in *RE* IV(7), 1193. Freeman compares the enforced absorption of Plataea by Thebes at this time, for which, on p. 136 n. 2, he cites Isocrates, *Plataean Oration* 8-10. The verb *συμπολιτεύειν* was used by Thucydides, VI.4, VIII.47 and 73, to mean "to be fellow-citizens or members of one state"; Liddell & Scott, *Gr. Lex.* (ed. Jones) II, 1685.

27. Liddell & Scott II, 1685, citing Polybius, II.41.12 and 44.5, III.5.6, as well as Diodorus Siculus, XXIX.18. In Polybius, II.41.5, the simple *πολιτεία* is used for the Achaean League and generally there seems to be little difference between his use of the two nouns; see for the similar approximation of *ισοπολιτεία* to *πολιτεία*, Oehler, *RE* IX(18), 2229 lines 49-50. Professor E. A. Havelock of Harvard suggests that the prototype for a "sympolity" was the proposal by Thales to the Ionians at the time of the Persian attack in the mid-sixth century B.C., Herodotus, I.170, that they "should found a common council center, ἐν βουλευτήριον, in Teos, for Teos was central in Ionia, and that the other cities should continue to be inhabited and governed, νομίζεσθαι, no less than if they were (independent) peoples, κατὰ περ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν." Schwahn indeed, *RE* III(7), 1192-1193, cites this as a precedent and follows it immediately with the example of Olynthus. However, the proposal of Thales did not necessarily involve a common Ionian citizenship but only a common center for deliberation.

28. The question of citizenship in the Greek leagues is fully discussed by Schwahn in *RE* IV(7) 1174-1182. For the Achaean League see also Freeman,

Hist. Fed. Govt. (ed. Bury), 201; in n. 3 he cites the precedent of Olynthus. It should be noted that the voting in the Achaean League was by cities, not by individuals, so that the federal citizenship did not involve the primary exercise of political rights. However, the vote of each city was cast not by representatives but by a majority of all members present, as was true in a constitution of the Lycian League described by Strabo, XIV.3, translated and discussed by Freeman, 163-168. Freeman would place this constitution after 168 B.C. This method of voting resembles that in the Roman assemblies.

29. Freeman, 260-271, does not assert the double and common citizenships for the Aetolian League as clearly as for the Achaean; but see C. A. Robinson, Jr., "Federal Unions," *The Greek Political Experience*, 102-104; Schwahn, *RE* IV(7), 1177.

30. *RE* IX(18), 2228-2229; see also the brief article on "isopoliteia" by J. A. O. Larsen in *Ox. Class. Dict.*, 461.

31. Col. 2228, lines 8-9.

32. *Pro Balbo* 12.30; see above n. 13.

33. Nepos, *Att.* 3; see above n. 12. W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London, Macmillan, 1911), does not index "isopolity" and gives no indication under "citizenship" of its practice before the Roman domination.

34. Dio Cassius, LIV.7.2, cited by J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1942), 170; compare pp. 134-136. In this connection it should be noted that O. W. Reinmuth concludes, in his article on "Ephebate and Citizenship in Attica," *Trans. Am. Philol. Assn.* LXXIX (1948), 222-230, that after 39/38 B.C. foreigners who were admitted to the ephebate were automatically admitted to citizenship. He remarks, p. 228, that Augustus' prohibition against the sale of citizenship apparently did not close to foreigners admission via the ephebate. He also refers, pp. 223-224, to honorary citizenships granted at an earlier date and sometimes not actively taken up. At no point does he specify whether such foreign-born citizens, whether honorary or ephebes, continued active in their original cities, that is, how far such citizenship constituted isopolity. The point might merit further investigation. A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940), 172, cites the regulation imposed on Bithynia in Pompey in 63 B.C., as described by Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* X.114-115: *Lege, domine, Pompeia permissum Bithynicis civitatibus adscribere sibi quos vellent cives, dum ne quem earum civitatum quae sunt in Bithynia*. Pliny found this regulation neglected to the extent that citizens of one city even became members of the council in another. Trajan advised him not to disturb existing cases but to see that Pompey's law was observed in the future. Jones also points out that Pliny, *Ep.* X.6-7, shows that Alexandrian citizenship lay in the gift of the Emperor, probably as successor to the Ptolemies. He says that grants of isopolity to individuals were restricted under the Romans and those between whole cities ceased, see next note. His discussion of isopolity in the Hellenistic period, p. 160, is brief and general.

35. The best example cited by Oehler for an exchange of citizenship between two whole communities is that between Pergamum and Temnos, before 260 B.C., Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graecae Inscriptiones* I, no. 265.

36. *CAH* VI, 519; see p. 520 for Plato and Aristotle.

37. For Alexander, add to the refs. in M. Hammond, "Ancient Imperialism," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* LVIII/LIX (1948), 140-143 nn. 62-65;

W. W. Tarn, "Brotherhood and Unity," *Alexander the Great* (Cambridge, England, Cambridge University Press, 1948) II, 399-449; H. Berve, "Die Verschmelzungspolitik Alexanders des Grossen," *Klio* XXXI (1938), 135-168.

38. W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization* (ed. 2, London, Arnold, 1930), 45-46: "they were not national rulers, and there was no imperial citizenship in their realms, as there was to be in the Roman." See for more detail, J. Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (ed. 2, Leipzig/Berlin, Teubner) II (1926), 325-336, especially p. 336 for the lack of a common citizenship save in Macedon. The relation between the Hellenistic rulers and their subject city-states is analyzed by A. Heuss, *Stadt und Herrscher des Hellenismus*, (*Klio*, Beiheft XXXIX [n. F. XXVI], 1937); for the lack of true citizenship, see his introduction, pp. 172-177, and conclusion, pp. 248-254. See briefly W. S. Ferguson, *CAH* VII, 7-12, 22-26.

39. Tarn, *Hell. Civ.* (ed. 2), 59.

40. Oehler, *RE* IX(18), 2229, cites the statement by Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* XII.1.1(8), that the first Ptolemy gave to the Jews whom he settled in Alexandria equal rights with the Alexandrian Greeks. R. Marcus, Loeb. ed. VII, p. 6 n. 2, promises a discussion of the problem in an appendix to the still unpublished vol. IX. The problem reappears in the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians, recovered from a papyrus, and treated by V. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius* (Harvard Historical Monographs 44, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1940), 64-79; see his nn., 245-257 for further bibliography. See for Alexandria and other cities in Egypt, Tarn, *Hell. Civ.* (ed. 2), 161-162, and for cases even outside of Egypt, pp. 191-193. Josephus and others (see p. 193 n. 1) describe the Jews as having "isopolity," which Tarn regards as purely potential since a Jew would have to apostatize and worship the pagan city gods to become an active citizen. He thinks that Paul, above n. 2, had such potential citizenship in Tarsus either because all Jews in Tarsus had isopolity or because he (or his father) had received it as a special honor. It may be questioned, however, whether at this period citizenship was sufficiently active so that there should be any requirement of participation in civic religion and hence any real distinction between real and potential citizenship. More interesting is the problem whether the Jews in Tarsus had a separate *πολίτευμα* as did those in Alexandria. Ramsay proposed that such an ethnic group was settled there about 171 B.C. by Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Ruge, art. "Tarsos" in *RE* 2 IV(8), 2420-2421, while denying this specific settlement, seems to admit the possibility of a Jewish community in Tarsus; see col. 2421, line 18: "die jüdische Gemeinde in T."

41. Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* XIV.7.2(115), quotes Strabo to the effect that in the time of Sulla, there were four types of inhabitants of Cyrene: *πολίται*, *γεωργοί*, *μέτοικοι*, and *Ἰουδαῖοι*. G. I. Luzzatto, *Epigrafiā Giuridica Greca e Romana* (R. Univ. di Roma, Pubbl. dell' Ist. di dir. rom. etc. XIX, Milano, Giuffrè, 1942), 263-264, follows Wenger in thinking that the "body of the Hellenes" of the third of Augustus' Edicts represents only the closed body of Greeks, the *κοινόν* as in Alexandria; so also F. De Visscher, *Les Édits d'Auguste*, etc. (Louvain, Bureau du Recueil, 1940), 48-54. Both reject the contrary view of Dessau, that "Hellenes" covered at least the Greeks and Jews and perhaps also the Libyans resident in the city.

42. For the view that the Stoics were as anarchistic as the Epicureans, see W. S. Ferguson, *CAH* VII, 37-38. Tarn, *Hell. Civ.* (ed. 2), 73-74, is more favorable to the Stoics; in his *Alexander* II, 404-409, he denies that the Cynics, with

their negative emphasis on individualism, had any positive theory of cosmopolitanism. In fact, the fragments of Chrysippus are not clear on his attitude; see Hans (Joannes) von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (Leipzig, Teubner) III (1913), 157-160, 172-175. Some later sources indicated that he advocated no participation in politics, others that he would participate in a good political system; see M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1948) I, 137-141. The extreme position was later well put by Marcus Aurelius, IV.23: "There is one who says 'Dear city of Cecrops!' Wilt thou not say 'O dear city of Zeus?'" C. R. Haines, Loeb ed., 81, notes that the "one" is apparently Aristophanes. The word *συμπολιτεύομαι* does not appear to have been used by the Stoics for membership in the universal community of reason; it is not indexed by M. Adler in vol. IV (1924) of von Arnim's *Fragmenta*, p. 137; nor is *ισοπολιτεία* indexed on p. 74. This index is, however, selective. On p. 192 of vol. II, frag. 636, von Arnim gives a fragment of Chrysippus' work on nature from Philodemus in which he says that the universe is one of the things with intelligence and a fellow-citizen with gods and men: τὸν κόσμον ἓνα τῶν φρονίμων συμπολιτευόμενον θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις Professor Havelock suggests that the participle may here be passive, meaning "jointly inhabited as citizens by gods and men," but this does not seem probable in view of the attribution of intelligence to the cosmos, which would seem to make it a partner with the other intelligences, gods and men. Liddell & Scott (ed. Jones) II, 1685, apparently classify the participle as middle in this passage. Adler has several references in IV, 118-119, for *πολιτεύομαι* in the general sense of "take part in politics." Epictetus, from the index in Schenkel's ed. (Leipzig, Teubner, 1916), uses *συμπολιτευόμενοι* in III.22.99 (p. 312, line 20) for one's fellow-citizens in the general community of mankind, which he there compares to a beehive. J. Leisegang's index to his edition of Philo of Alexandria, VII.2 (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1930), gives neither *ισοπολιτεία*, p. 410, nor *συμπολιτεύομαι*, p. 736. There are many entries on pp. 667-669 for *πολιτεία* and *πολιτεύεσθαι*. But E. Goodenough, *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940), 82-95, indicates that Philo was not so much concerned with the contrast between the city-state and the universal community of mankind as with that between the earthly state and the heavenly state and the relation thereto of the Jewish Messianic hopes. This, of course, was the problem which later concerned St. Augustine. Professor A. D. Nock, of Harvard, suggested these leads, which merit further investigation.

43. Hammond, "Anc. Imp.," *HCSP*. LVIII/LIX (1948), 151 n. 92.

44. The reason finds expression in law, and the Stoics undoubtedly contributed much to the development of the Roman views on *ius civile*, *ius gentium*, and *ius naturale*; see for instance C. H. McIlwain, *Growth of Political Thought in the West* (New York, Macmillan, 1932), 102-118, with particular emphasis on the significance of Cicero in this connection.

45. Aristotle, *Pol.* III.13.12 (1283.b.42).

46. For the development of the concept of *urbs et orbis idem*, see F. Christ, *Die Römische Weltherrschaft in der antiken Dichtung* (Tübinger Beiträge XXXI, Stuttgart/Berlin, Kohlhammer, 1938), 81-83, and Ida Cirino, *L'Idée di Roma negli scrittori Latini etc.* (Napoli, Loffredo, 1934).

47. See *CAH* VII, index under Greece and Rome, p. 952, and under Rome and Greece, p. 966. G. Colin, *Rome et la Grèce de 200 à 146 av. J. C.* (Bibl. des Éc. fr. d'Ath. et de Rome XLIV, Paris, Fontemoing, 1905), 15-18, surveys briefly and conservatively the reports of early contacts; M. Holleaux, *Rome*,

la Grèce, et les Monarchies Hellénistiques au III^e siècle (Bibl. CXXIV, Paris, de Boccard, 1921), i, 1-14, is skeptical of any political relation between Rome and Greece before the end of the Pyrrhic wars, in 270 B.C., and dubious about two instances between then and 230 B.C., at which date he commences his account.

48. R. A. L. Fell, *Etruria and Rome* (Cambridge, England, Cambridge University Press, 1924), 79-82, discusses briefly Rome's relations with her neighbors under Etruscan domination; see also Sherwin-White, 14-19. Neither suggest a direct influence on Rome's device of *Latinitas*.

49. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* III, 47-53, uses Cicero's discussion in connection with *fundus fieri* (see above pp. 159-164), *pro Balbo* 13.31, as evidence for exclusive citizenship in early Rome. It is, of course, possible that Cicero read this concept into the Roman legal provision from his knowledge of Greek views and that, as suggested presently in the text, the early Romans were not so precise in their ideas on the subject.

50. The summary of early *Latinitas* is based on Sherwin-White, 20-35, 103-110. See for a more detailed discussion, Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III, 627-640, and, briefly, Sherwin-White's arts. *Ius Latii* and *Latini* in *Ox. Class. Dict.*, 465, 482-483.

51. *De Leg.* II.2.5, above n. 5.

52. For the Etruscan confederation and city constitutions, see B. Nogara, *Gli Etruschi e la loro Civiltà* (Milan, Hoepli, 1933), 62-85, and M. Pallottino, *Etruscologia* (ed. 2, Milan, Hoepli, 1947), 155-185. The French translation of Pallottino, *La Civilisation Étrusque* (Paris, Payot, 1949), has been slightly brought up to date.

53. Sherwin-White disperses his treatment of the settlement of 338 B.C., see pp. 29-30, 36-37, 55-69, 91-111.

54. Sherwin-White, 91, citing for illustrative examples Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* III, 611 n. 2. On p. 92, he denies that except for Lavinium the Latins were really *foederati*. He thinks that the relation was settled by a unilateral declaration by Rome, as was the case with the Campanian cities after 210 B.C. or when Rome founded a Latin colony by law or senatorial decree. Presumably the act of surrender involved accepting (becoming *fundus* to) Rome's declaration.

55. For Roman colonies generally, see the detailed discussion by E. Kornemann in *RE* IV(7), 511-588; the early Latin colonies are listed in cols. 514-520. See also Tenney Frank, *Economic Survey of Rome* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press) I, "Rome and Italy of the Republic" (1933). Sherwin-White's art. "Colonization, Roman" in *Ox. Class. Dict.*, 213-214, is brief and general.

56. See Sherwin-White, 37-41, for the origins of the *municeps*; also E. Kornemann's art. "municipium" in *RE* XVI(32), 570-638, especially for the period before Caesar's law, cols. 576-587. Zdz. Zmigryda-Konopka gives a detailed study of "Les relations politiques entre Rome et la Campanie" in *Eos* XXXII(1929), 587-602. He emphasizes the independence of the *municipia*, p. 596-598. On pp. 593-594, he compares Rome's treatment of them to Greek isopolity as instanced in Athens' grant to Samos of 405, discussed above, or in that between Hierapytna and Priansos in Crete of the second century B.C., for which see Oehler, *RE* IX(18), 2228 lines 63-64. But Zmigryda-Konopka does not suggest direct influence. He draws a parallel also with the presence of a *praefectus*, presumably a Roman judicial officer, alongside local municipal officers

in the Oscan *lex Bantia*. The Latins, like the *municipes*, had an obligation to provide troops *ex formula togatorum*, which suggests a defined relation to Rome and a closer sense of kinship than with the *municipes*; Sherwin-White, 91-92.

57. G. W. Botsford, *The Roman Assemblies* (New York, Macmillan, 1909), 48-66; on p. 57 n. 6, he cites Livy, *Epitome* XIX, for the 35th tribe in 241 B.C. It is also possible that the restriction on new tribes was a "democratic" movement to prevent increased weight in the *comitia tributa* for the aristocratically controlled rural tribes. In this view, the unwillingness to create new tribes would have been connected with the reform of the centuriate assembly which seems to have been a "democratic" reform to bring it into closer parallel with the tribal assembly; Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, 212-215. These problems cannot be answered because of the paucity of our sources for the period before the Second Punic War. See in general Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* III, 161-181.

58. The incorporation of communities began as early as the fourth century; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* III, 165 n. 2, 177-178. Tusculum seems to have been the earliest; Mommsen, 177 n. 1; Sherwin-White, 56. But the date is uncertain as between 381 and 323 B.C.; McCracken, art. "Tusculum," *RE*² VII(14.1), 1468-1469.

59. Arpinum, a city of the Volsci, lies at the headwaters of the Liris in the Apennines about sixty miles southeast of Rome. It received the citizenship without the vote in 305 B.C. and full citizenship in 188 B.C. and was in Cicero's day a *municipium*; art. "Arpinum," *RE* I(1) 1218-1219. In 46 B.C., at about the time when Cicero was working on the *de Leg.* (above n. 6), he wrote to Marcus Brutus, whom Caesar had left as praefect of Cisalpine Gaul, and asked him to assist some representatives of Arpinum to secure revenues due to the city from property which it owned there. Cicero mentions that his son and nephew and a third man were standing for the aedileship in Arpinum for the purpose of restoring its condition, *constituendi municipii causa*; *ad Fam.* XIII.11 and 12 = Tyrrell & Purser, nos. 452 and 453.

60. H. Rudolph, *Stadt und Staat in römischen Italien* (Leipzig, Dieterich'sche VBH, 1935). On pp. 62 and 120, he uses the passage from Cicero's letter to support his theory of municipal reform under Caesar. But the word *constituere* seems rather to mean "restore," as in Sulla's dictatorship *rei publicae constituendae*, if this was the Latin which lay behind Appian's Greek in *Bell. Civ.* I.99.3, as assumed in *RE* IV(2), 1556 line 33, and by Degraasi in restoring the entry in the *Fasti Consulares, Inscr. Ital.* XIII.1, 57 and 484-485 under year 82 B.C. Compare also the *triumviri rei publicae constituendae* of 43 B.C., Augustus, *Res Gestae* 1.4 and 7.1. Hence, as Tyrrell and Purser suggest, Arpinum may simply have fallen into financial difficulties and Cicero, as its patron, was concerned with trying to restore its solvency and not to reform its government. Sherwin-White, 82-89, rejects Rudolph's theory.

61. For the problems of local government in colonies and *municipia*, see besides Rudolph and Sherwin-White as cited in the preceding note, Kornemann's art. "municipium" in *RE* XVI(31), 610-632, which, published in 1933, antedates Rudolph. In his earlier (1901) art. "coloniae" in *RE* IV(7) 585-588, Kornemann mentions only those features in which they differed from *municipia*. A. Degraasi has recently reviewed the evidence for "Quattuorviri in colonie romane e in municipi retti da duoviri" in *Memorie della Accad. naz. dei Lincei*,

Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, ser. VII, vol. II, fasc. 6 (1949), 281-345.

62. The tradition that Ostia was the first Roman colony, founded either under the kings or at the beginning of the Republic, was disproved by Carcopino from historical and Calza from archaeological evidence; see art. "Ostia" in *RE* 2 XVIII(36.1), 1655-1658. In this article, Calza concludes that there was undoubtedly some early settlement and religious shrine but that the first Roman colony was settled there about 325 B.C. Sherwin-White, 72 and 76 n. 2, thinks that there were earlier colonies which vanished but that of those which survived, the first was Antium in 338 B.C. He points out that the accounts of the first colonies suggest that they were placed on already inhabited sites, as was often true later, and on p. 82 he indicates the resemblance of such colonies to the Athenian *klerouchies*, though he does not suggest direct influence.

63. Sherwin-White, 72-82.

64. For *praefecturae*, *fora*, and *conciliabula*, see Sherwin-White, 70-72; Abbot and Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1926), 10-20.

65. Tenney Frank, *Ec. Survey of Anc. Rome* I, "Rome and Italy of the Republic," 215-216, using the estimates of Beloch, calculates the *ager Romanus* at about one quarter of the area of Italy before 90 B.C., but to this should be added the areas with Latin rights and *civitas sine suffragio*.

66. Sherwin-White, 112-125; J. Göhler, *Rom und Italien* (Breslauer Historische Forschungen XIII, Breslau, Priebatsch VBH, 1939).

67. Sherwin-White, 126-130.

68. Sherwin-White, 130-135; the two well-known laws were the *lex Iulia* of 90 B.C. and the *lex Plautia Papiria* of 89 B.C., to which Sherwin-White adds possibly the *lex Calpurnia* of 89 B.C.; for the sources, see A. H. J. Greenidge & A. M. Clay, *Sources for Roman History, B.C. 133-170* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1903), 110, 119, 120.

69. *Pro Balbo* 8.21, cited by Sherwin-White, 125 and 130. Compare Hadrian's remarks on the request of the people of Italica to obtain colonial instead of municipal status, as quoted by Aulus Gellius, XVI.13.4-5. This passage leads Gellius to define *municipium* and mention *fundus fieri*, for which see above pp. 160-161.

70. Whether the phrase *coloniae et municipia* came specifically to mean Italy is disputed; it seems to have been so used by Tacitus; see *Ann.* I.79.1, with Furneaux's note for further references. Sherwin-White, 182, accepts this meaning also in Claudius' "Speech on the Gauls," line 43, but P. Fabia, *La Table Claudienne de Lyons* (Lyons, Audin, 1929), 93 n. 2, thinks that Claudius meant his "everywhere" to apply to the provinces as well. In general, for colonies and *municipia*, see Abbott and Johnson, *Mun. Adm.*, 3-9.

71. Sherwin-White, 69. The cases of Balbus and Archias are not really relevant, because both had left the communities to which they belonged when they received Roman citizenship, Gades and Heracleia respectively, and had come to Rome. See for Balbus, Sherwin-White, 162-163. On p. 132, Sherwin-White cites the more relevant remark of Cicero, *ad Fam.* XIII.30, about L. Manlius Sosis. This man originally came from Catina but was enrolled, *adscriptus*, at Naples before Roman citizenship was extended in 89 B.C. He became a Roman citizen along with the other Neapolitans but continued active in Neapolitan politics by becoming a *decurio*. Very instructive is the discussion by

G. I. Luzzatto, *Epigrafia Giuridica* (above, n. 41), 294-321, of an inscription from Rhosos in which the triumvirs grant citizenship and immunity to a naval captain named Seleucus and his descendants. Luzzatto discusses the material for the early empire down to the Edict of Caracalla, for which see his pp. 301-306, and then shows a progression in four documents of the first century B.C.: a decree of the senate of 78 B.C., which granted immunity and other privileges but not citizenship to Asclepias and two others for service in the Sullan wars, a papyrus in which Augustus as triumvir granted citizenship and immunity to veterans of the civil war, the inscription from Rhosos, and the third Edict of Augustus from Cyrene, of 7/6 B.C. He concludes, p. 318, that by 41 B.C. Roman citizenship became compatible with that of some other subject community, whether Latin or peregrine. His discussion may be supplemented by Miss Goodfellow's collection, in her *Roman Citizenship* (1935), 90-108, of instances of grants of citizenship to free but non-Roman individuals by Caesar, Antony, and Augustus.

72. Sherwin-White, 149-163, traces the gradually worsening position of the free cities; compare Tenney Frank, *Roman Imperialism* (New York, Macmillan, 1914), 238.

73. These statements are founded on Kornemann's lists of colonies, *RE* IV(7), 516-520 (Latin), 526-529 (Roman), 529-533 and 563-568 (Caesar and the early Empire). He suggests, cols. 562-563, that Caesar was following the abortive effort of Gaius Gracchus to found overseas colonies of Roman citizens at Carthage, and perhaps at Corinth.

74. Sherwin-White, 170.

75. The Edict, or Constitution, of Caracalla has been much discussed, see Sherwin-White's summary, 220-227.

76. Sherwin-White, 220-221.

77. It should be remembered that even the Roman Empire did not admit two independent loyalties, to the political and to, for example, a religious community. The Romans could not therefore understand the attitude of Jews and Christians. The Middle Ages saw bitter strife occasioned by the inability to reconcile loyalties to church and state. Nor have modern states finally solved the problem of relationship between membership in the political community and in, for instance, a labor union. Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr. has published an interesting "Inquiry into Freedom of Association" under the main title "The Open Window and the Open Door" in the *California Law Review* XXXV (1947), 336-351, in which he shows that freedom of association is a very recent concept, denied throughout ancient, mediaeval, and early modern political and legal thought.

ALPES POPVLIQUE INALPINI (PLIN. N.H. III 47)

BY JOSHUA WHATMOUGH

THE administration of a single government and a single law is usually conducted in a single language. That, perhaps, is the reason why in our day the men who hope for "one world" often advocate the use of one language as the vehicle of its operation. But a nation, with its own administrative procedures, can conduct its affairs in more than one language, as witness Switzerland, Belgium, the Soviet Union, and other modern examples, provided that the number is not too large. Switzerland, with four officially recognized languages, like Belgium with two, is a conspicuous example also of the interpenetration of two important linguistic habits, Romance and Germanic; and, further, the entire stretch of the Alps considered, a third must be added at the extreme eastern (Italian) end, namely Slavonic (*Reka* : *Fiume*). Consider too the German not only of the Alto Adige, but also of the Tredici and Undici Comuni; or the *langue valdôtaine* predominant in the Italian valleys of Susa and Aosta, and the large numbers of Italian-speakers in the southeastern departments of France. In addition to this incomplete agreement of linguistic and national frontiers, there is found, in the same Alpine regions, more marked perhaps than elsewhere in modern Europe, the continued use of a considerable element of vocabulary which is certainly pre-Roman and often not even Indo-European.¹

It might have been supposed that the elder Pliny, with his exceptional opportunities for observation, ought to have shown more interest than he did in the linguistic conditions of the Alpine regions, which in his day were no less complex than now. Besides the Latin of comparatively recent introduction, there had been used, east to west, at least Illyrian, Raetic, Ligurian, and Keltic of Indo-European idioms, and no one knows precisely what pre-Indo-European — now vaguely described comprehensively as "Alpine." Not much of these has been recorded directly, since writing was all but unknown before the introduction of Latin. Glosses and proper names are the chief sources of information. Occasionally modern names excite interest. One of these is the *Piz* (and glacier) *Silvretta* (in the Engadine, north of the Inn) near the Austrian frontier, which Hubert astutely saw² may not be connected with Latin *silua* but obviously goes with the name of *silver*, of obscure origin, that appears in Germanic (Gothic

silubr, OE *siolfor*), in Balto-Slavonic (OChSl *sĭrebro*, Lith. *sidābras*), in Basque *cillara*, and, I think, nowhere else. The claim of an Anatolian origin, advanced by Feist,³ and still repeated by others,⁴ is pure conjecture. In the complete absence of an Indo-European etymology, and in default of other evidence, the conclusion that the word is borrowed is inevitable. The source may have been Alpine or "Mediterranean" (not, I think, Iberian); and its meaning, like that of *argentum* and its cognates, may properly have been "white, bright." At least we know of silver workings in ancient times in the Pyrenees and in Aquitania,⁵ and of "Illyrian" silver,⁶ and we may conjecture that the Salassi and Lepontii, who struck silver coins, had a local source of supply.⁷ In modern Switzerland argentiferous lead is worked in the Lötschenthal. As for the word (*silvr-*), connexion either with the Homeric Ἀλύβη,⁸ with which, as Leaf remarks, "we appear to reach fairyland," or with Χαλύβη, which Strabo (quoted by Leaf) stigmatized as a "conjecture in the teeth of the old manuscripts," is out of the question.

In *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* the linguistic evidence from the Alpine regions was collected as completely as possible for the date of publication (1933)⁹ and within the strict frontier of Italy, together with a few items (especially from the Eastern Alps) without it. My starting point for *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul*¹⁰ is those Alpine territories of the Western Alps that were separately organized politically, and are therefore outside of the strict frontier, namely the Alpes Maritimae, the Regnum Cottii, the Alpes Graiae, and the Vallis Poenina.

Of all the tasks which Augustus had to face during his principate none was more urgent or more momentous than that of creating an efficient administration of the empire that Roman arms had conquered. The Alpine regions, between Narbonensis and Italy, were seen to have peculiar problems that made it necessary to give them a separate organization. Hence, in 14 B.C., these districts, perhaps more Ligurian than either Liguria itself or Narbonensis, were constituted imperial provinces. The southernmost province, that of the *Alpes Maritimae*, which was placed under an imperial prefect, seems not to have reached the coast, where Narbonensis marched with Liguria, at the mouth of the Var (save that Antipolis, now Antibes, belonged to Italy). But the frontiers of the Alpine provinces are uncertain (see *CIL* 12 pp. xii-xiii), and the meagre linguistic records that we have are confined to such as have been preserved indirectly through Greek and Latin channels, chiefly in Latin inscriptions, and

consist almost entirely of proper names, together with a number of glosses in authors and in the glossaries. The Alpes Maritimae extended westwards as far as the headwaters of the Durance; the Regnum Cottii (or *prouincia Alpium Cottiarum*) just west of Chorges; the *Alpes Graiae* a little farther west and then northeast, narrowing at the northern end to open out into the *Vallis Poenina*, which is roughly the valley of the Rhône from its headwaters to its entrance into Lake Geneva.

Here we have an ancient interpenetration of languages quite comparable with the modern. Apart from Latin and (in a few items) Greek, there were Ligurian and Keltic and Germanic. Testimony to the last named, of early date, is clear and convincing in a series of translations which also is telling at the very meeting place of three tongues. The ethnicon *Tulingi* (from Caesar and other ancient sources, *DAG* 241) has a well-attested Germanic suffix (from *-nko-* cf. *Aurunci*); and the compound local names (*ibid.*) Τουλι-φούρδον ("ford," German *-furt*, cognate with Latin *portus*) and Τουλι-βούργιον (cf. Gothic *baiúrgs* "city, town"; OE, OHG *-burg*; the v.l. *-σούργιον* is almost certainly wrong) also show Germanic elements suffixed to *Tuli-*, which can itself, therefore, hardly be anything but Germanic, and Western Germanic. Hence *t-* will stand for I.Eu. *d-*; the meaning of *Tulingi* appears to be "hill-people," cf. ὄρος Τοῦλλον, a mountain-peak in the Julian Alps (Holder, *AcS* II 1984), *Tuledo mons* (Liguria, *PID* I p. 362), the Raetic *Tulliasses* (*ibid.*, p. 448), and the mountain-god *Tullinus* (*ibid.*, p. 257). Further conjecture as to the etymology (**deu-*, **dē-*; Walde-Pokorny I 778, 812) is idle. There is just a possibility that the form is Illyrian, and Illyrian certainly shows *d : t* (cf. Ταυλάντιοι : Δαυλάντιον, *HSCP* XLII, 1931, 152), but *Taunus mons* (the ancient sources are given in *AcS* II 1755-56) points once more to Germanic, and I see in *Tulingi* a cognate of the Keltic *dūnum* "montem" (*DAG* 178), cf. *Tul(l)i-*, *Taun-*, Ταυλ-, either with an *li-* suffix (and gemination) besides the *no-* suffix, or with dissimilation of *n . . . n* to *l . . . n*; so possibly, with *r : n* (: *l*), *Taurini*, *Taurisci*.

But the "valley-dwellers," neighbors of the *Tulingi*, were the *Daliterni* (see *DAG* 15). Here again the name is Germanic (cf. English *dale*, OE *dæl*, OHG *tal*, Gothic *dal*). The same people were called in Keltic *Nantuates* (*DAG ibid.*, from *nanto* "uallē," *DAG* 178), and in Latin *Vallenses* (modern Valais, Wallis, *DAG* 15). This is evidence, as good as could be desired, for the contact of Keltic, Germanic, and Latin.

I proceed now to give, from the evidence collected in my *Dialects of Ancient Gaul* 1-19 (Alpine Regions), all the grammar of the ancient Alpine dialects between Italy and Gaul that is possible from the extant records; references without other indication are to those items in *DAG*.

In addition to Keltic, which is abundantly represented by the following forms:

Adnamu 19, Adnema 9	Drusomagus 15
Adunicates 2	Eb(u)rodunum 7, 15
Agaunum, Acaunum 15, 18	-etum 19 Remark
(Albio)-rix, -rigius 7 bis, 8	Excingo-magus, Scingo-, Esci-
Aliso Note ii	gius, Escingus 7-9
Ambitoutus 19	Exomnus 14
Ἀνηροέστης 19	gaesum 1
Arebrigium 10	genista 1
Axima, -us 10, 12	Gobannicno 9
balma 1	Ἰορκος 1, Iurca 19
barcarii 15	Isara 10
Bellenica 15	Laudius 13
Beriti(ni) 2	Lemannus 15
boiae 1	Leuconius 8
Βριγάντιον 7, Brig[omagus] 2	-lucos 15
bronda 1	Lutatia 9
bruscum 1	Matuconus, -ius 5, 6
Bussullus 9	Minnodunum 15
Calmes 7 (cf. gl. 207)	Namicus 9
Cantismerta 17	Nantuates 15
Cantorix 19	?Nemesii 2
carpentum 1	Nemateus 9
Caturiges 7	Nertoualus 9
?Ciuotegetis Note i	Nitiogenna 19
Κογκολίτανος 19	Ocelo 7
Cottiae, Cottianae 7	Octodurum 15
dam(m)a 1	orombouii 1
Darantasia 10	Penninus 15, -ae 15
Δέρκυνος 6	Penno-lucos 15
donnus "rex" 7	pennum, pen(n)is 1
Donnus 8	Rigomagus 7
Druantium 17	Rodanus 15
Druentia 10	Σανίτιον 2

Sapaudia 15	Vesomnius 8
Scingomagus 7	Vintellius 18
Sequana 19 Remark	Ούντιον 2, 4
Segusio 7	Viuiscus 15
Smertullus 9	Vlattius, -ia 5, 6, 8
Σονήτριαι 2	Vlatuna 6

we have at least one pre-Indo-European term:

alpes, Albia 2, 17
 "Ολβια 2
 Σάλπια 2

two Raetic:

rabuscula 1
 silvr- (see above)

four Illyrian (?):

capanna 1
 carpinus 1
 ?Graiae, -us 10, 12
 ?iuliae 7

two Iberian:

gandadia 1
 garra 1

the following Ligurian:

ἄλβολον (?) 1	ibex 1
asinusca 1	?Ieusdrinus (L-) 4
atrusca 1	φάλαι, βάλον (?) 1
bala (?) 1	Quariates 7
buxea "silua" (modern <i>Boissa</i>)	Tincius 18
3	uatusicum 1
camox 1	Veludius 5
Cemenelum 2 [: Cebenna]	Velagenus 6, 9
Contrubii (Contubrici) 2	Velabellius 5
daculum 1	uerbascum 1
Glannatina 2	uiburnum 1

and the following Germanic:

Buriates 2	mango 15
cateia 1	Turbellius Note ii
Daliterni 15	Vberi 15

and Italic:

Bergintrum 10

?Σαλῖναι 12

Vulpis, Volpinae 2

Modern local names (*DAG* 3) offer, for example, *La Boissa* (on *buxea*, see *Havers Festschrift* 1949, 123–24), *Cassianes* (Keltic, with -ss- from older -st-), and *Vignols* (**Vinoialum*, in which at least the second element is Keltic); and (16) *Joux* (cf. *Iurca*, ἰορκος 19, 1).

There is nothing in the phonematic pattern contained in the above forms inconsistent with Indo-European; such of them as are assigned to non-Indo-European sources merely lack satisfactory Indo-European etymologies.

LINGUISTIC FEATURES

1. *Vowels and Diphthongs*

ǣ : ǫ alpes : "Ολβια
 carpentum : corbis

e penno-
i from e before n plus consonant:
 Excingo-

Loss of e before -sk- :
 Scingomagus

The alternation *a* : *e* may rest upon a weakened *e*-vowel in *Adnamu* : *Adnema*, *Nemeteuus*, *Nemesii* and this in its turn indicates an initial syllabic accent. But *Namicus* makes that explanation difficult to accept, and there are one or two other, though more dubious examples, as *Baluci* (Note i), *Balur* (3) : *bel(l)icum*, **belluca* (1 *Introd.*). A clear case of syncope is *Sapaudia* (for -uid-, i.e. *uidu*- "tree").

eu Ceutrones, Leuconius, Leusdrinus

au Laudius; Acaunum (-g-)

ou Ambitoutus

-ō becomes -ū Adnamu (f.)

u between vowel and nasal is assimilated ¹¹

 Σανίτιον for Σανν- : σάνιον

2. *Sonant nasals and liquids*

ɾ *ri* (Keltic) Βριγάντιον, Are-brigium, Brig[omagus

er (Ligurian?) Bergintrum, cf. Bergomates, Bergomum,
 Bergimus — local and divine names in Cisalpine Gaul

(PID I 309, 459). But these may have original *er*. The Germanic equivalent is *burg-* (*burgus*, *Burgundiones*), cf.: Turbellius : Contrubii (perhaps Contubrici by metathesis). The same root (**treb-*, cf. Gothic *þaúrþ* ?) may have stood in the ancient name of *La Turbie*, *Turbia* v. PID I 363, mistakenly construed as *Τρόπαια*).

If *carpinus* is cognate with *γράφιον*, then *ar* from *ɾ* (or *ra* and metathesis ?) is perhaps Illyrian.

! *li* (Keltic) in *-litano-* (*Κογκολίτανος*); but *ol* (*ul*) in *Volpinae*, *Vulpis* (Italic).

Lemannus (*lemo-*, *limo-* : *ulmus* see Walde-Pokorny I 152).

3. Ablaut

o : *e* *Κογκολίτανος* (i.e. *-γγ-*) : *Escingo-* (*i* from *e*). It is possible, but hardly likely, that *o* represents a rounding before *η*. This result might occur from an older *a*, but not, I think, from *e* or *i*. Cf. *Matuconius* (*-genius*), unless a derivative of *Matuco*.

eu : *u* Buriates
eī : *i* Vintius (**uind-* "white")

4. Consonants

Loss of *p* Are-brigium (*are-* : *περί, παρά*), *Κογκολίτανος* (**-płtano*)

Leu-s(d)-rinus (cf. *Leusonna*) : **pleu-*?

qu becomes *p* *pennum*, *pen(n)is*, *Penninus*, *Pennolucos*.

This last word has *-locus* gen. sg. **lokous* of the *u*-stem **locu-* "lake," cf. *Segelocus* (near Lincoln). Thus it is the Keltic equivalent of *Summo lacu* (v. PID I 451) or *Caput loci* (for *lacus*) and *Hauptsee*, like *Eschental*, the equivalent of *Ὀσκέλα* (*Domo d'Ossola*, PID II 66, n. 1 and Hubschmied *Vox. Rom.* l.c.), cf. *Augustomontem* : *Augustodunum*, and *uernemeton* : *Augusto-nemeton*. In *Nitiocenna* (cf. *Satiocenna*) *-cenna* is more likely patronymic (i.e. *-gena*) than cognate with *-penno-*. The initial *qu-* of *Quariates* is Ligurian.

Sequana contains *-ku-*, not *qu-*. Hubschmied's ingenious account of the modern names *Seewis* and *Valzifens* in the Bündener Oberland¹² derives *see-* in the former from **sekuā* and *-zifens* in the latter from **sekuīēnos*. These

will be cognate with Irish *seisg*, Welsh *hysp* "dry," i.e., reduplicated **si-sk-uo-* (for the formation compare Sabine *tesqua*) cf. perhaps *Siscia*, *Siscii* (241) and Latin *siccus* (if *-cc-* stands for *-ku-* ?), though Sicel *σανκός* (*PID* II 470), if this also is connected, is not easily explained (*-uk-* or *-ku-* : *-cc-* ?). *Aquisiana*, *Aquisleuae* (7) must go with numerous other forms in *-qu-*, *-gu-* (e.g. *Egualarus* 140), either borrowed, or again containing *-ku-* (cf. *Prolegomena* 51).

gu- (?) In *genista* "broom" Balboni (*Stud. Etr.* XVI, 1942, 403-408) sees an Alpine cognate of Welsh *banadl*. This seems more than doubtful.

bh ἄλβολον (?); βάλον; bronda; Beritini, Buriates; Bellenica; Ambitoutus

dh daculum

i ἰορκος, Iurca.

But *dorcus* (Ed. Diocl.), Gr. *δορκός* (dial. ζ-) shows a different treatment of *i* elsewhere, see Boisacq s.v.

η(*g*) The writing *g* (for *ng*) in Escigius (: Escingus) may be a mere graphic error rather than an imitation of Greek γ before palatal consonants.

s- : zero Σάλπια : alpes (cf. Severn : Hafren ?) But *s-* is regularly preserved, e.g. Σουήτριοι (cf. Suessiones, Suebi, Sudeta ?), Σαλῖναι and many others.

-s- preserved gaesum

-ss- In Bussullus *-ss-* is the Keltic affricate (also written *-ðð-*, e.g. *buððutton*, *buððumo*), arising from combinations of dentals, from *-st-* and *-ts-* ; cf. *Cassianes*

5. Alternations of Consonants ¹³

<i>p</i> : <i>b</i>	capanna : cabanna carpentum : Carbentorate alpes : Albia, Albenses, *Ολβια, Albiorix, -rigius carpinus : γράβιον
<i>t</i> : <i>d</i>	Tarentasia : Dar- Vintius : Vindo- "white" Conetoutos : Conetodus
<i>k</i> : <i>g</i>	Acaunum : agaunum caesum : gaesum Caesao (cf. Caesiae Note ii) : Gaesao Nemetocenna : -genna (for -gena ?) ?Matuconius : -genus

6. *Metathesis*

Cebenna : Cenabon (?)
 Contrubii : Contubrici, Turbellius
Boissa (for *-ks-*) : Buxea, boscus (79)
 capanna (cab-, cam-) : canaba (?)
 carpinus : γράβιον (?)

7. *Gemination* (and simplification of geminatae)

capanna (*capp- ?)
 dam(m)a
 Vlattius : Vlatuna
 Gobannicno

8. *Lenition*

cabanna : camanna (?)
 Cebenna : Κέμμενον, Cemenelum, Ciminice (?)
 Albia, cf. Albienses (80) : Alma (2), Almanti-
 censes (80)
 Cf. Sab- (Samn-), σαύγιον (?); balma : Balba;
 Fabius (Habius) : Famius (139)

9. *Changes in Consonant-Groups*

-mn- from *-bn-* : Exomnus, Vesomnius
-nn- later *-nd-* : Glannatina, mod. Glandève
r- from *gr-* : rabuscula (?)

Note the preservation of *ul-* in Vlattius (cf. Ir. *flaith*, W. *gwlad*); *-sdr-* in Leusdrinus (from *-sr-* ?); *-sc-* in asinusca, atrusca, rabuscula, uerbascum, bruscum, uiuiscum; *sm-* in Smer-tullus, Cantismerta.

t_i : *s* Nemesii (cf. Nemateuus, Nemetocenna, νεμητων ?)
s : *ks* Escingus, Scingo : Exc-
-ps- becomes *-χs-* (written *x*) : Axima, -us
-gsl- Iuliae (for *iug-s-lo- ?)

10. *Forms*

n.sg. *ōn*-stem Adnamu
 gen.sg. *u*-stem (Penno-)locus
 superlative *-simo-* Axima, Aximus; cf.
 Cintusmus : Cintutus (140), and mod. *Huemoz*
 *ouksamo- (Hubschmied).

prefixes (in composition) are- : Arebrigium
 ad- (or a-) : A-dunicates, Ad-namu
 con- : Contubrici (cf. Turbellius)

Words in *-x*, *-cis* (ibex, camox) are commonly supposed to be evidence of pre-Indo-European (see, for example, Walde-Hofmann s.vv.). *Nertoualus* is an intensive binominal compound; *Orombouii* is said to be a hybrid Greek and Keltic compound (unlikely); *donnus* is translated "rex" (7), and (?) *Octodurum* by "uerus ager" (15). Whatever its origin (see *CP* XLII, 1947, 203) *mango* "huckster" was certainly current in the Alpine passes (*NdSc* 1892, 68). I suspect that a verb of some sort is concealed in the fragmentary *oup* (Note i).

This sketch of the grammar of the dialects of the Alpine regions at the beginning of the present era is offered in part as an indication of the interpretation to which a corpus of documentary evidence of the kind collected in my *DAG* may be put on a purely linguistic basis; in part as revealing, — from a point of view somewhat different from that of the historian of the empire, with his interest in the politics of provincial administration, or of the geographer, who stresses the effects of the physical configuration of a territory, — important factors the very existence of which neither of these even suspects in an area in which the linguistic testimony itself is both fragmentary and fugitive, but which must have compelled recognition, and therefore distinct organization, of what prove to have been regions as distinctively separate and linguistically discrete to the first century Roman government as (say) the province of Quebec and the Afrikaans-speaking area of South Africa are to their respective Dominion governments of today, small as those Alpine regions were, reckoned in square miles. Like the modern Alsatians who are "neither German nor French," the *populi Inalpini* were neither Italic nor Gaulish.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Johannes Hubschmid *Praeromanica* (Romanica Helvetica XXX, Bern 1949); or V. Bertoldi "Problèmes de Substrat" in *Bulletin de la Société linguistique de Paris* XXXII, 1931, 93-184.
2. *Revue celtique* XLIV, 1927, 82.
3. *Vergl. Wtb. der got. Sprache*, ed. 3, 1936, 421.
4. E.g., Buck *Dictionary of Synonyms*, Chicago 1949, 611.
5. Pauly-Wissowa III A (1927), 19.
6. *Livy* XLV 43, 5 (coined money).

7. *PID* II 129-135; see also Ebert *Reallexikon* XII 160. Cf. possibly Verg.*G.* II 165; Pliny *NH* III 138, XXXIII 78.

8. *Iliad* II 857. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Vorgeschichte*, ed. 2, 265 (after Hehn). It is tempting to find our word in one of the magical formularies of Marcellus Burdigalensis (*DAG* Note xxv Remark) a remedy for a styne in the eye that reads

κυρια κυρια κασσαρια σουρωρβι

but other explanations are possible; and in the *αυρικαεσωριβους* of the Edict of Diocletian 30.4, but that seems to be *auricaesoribus*.

9. Not much has appeared since then; my notebooks for each of the three volumes contain everything of later date.

10. The documentary material is now being made available in parts on microfilm (I Alpine Regions and II Narbonensis, 1949; III Aquitania, 1950), University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan; see *Microfilm Abstracts* X, 1950, 141-142. Cf. *HSCP* LV, 1944, 1-85; *Archaeology* II, 1949, 91-94; *Word* V, 1949, 106-115; *Language* XXV, 1949, 388-391; *Die Sprache* I, 1949, 123-129; *Journal of Celtic Studies* I, 1949, 7-10; *D. M. Robinson Essays* (in preparation). I hope that the grammar and glossary may be printed. [The rest of *DAG* will appear in 1951.—Addendum 6 March 1951.]

11. See *Die Sprache* I, 1949, 126-127.

12. Known to me only from *RC* LI, 1934, 338-339; *Vox. Rom.* III, 1938, 64, 114; Pokorny *Urgesch.* 153-154, cf. 133 n. 1.

13. These, I believe, may represent an attempt to write a Keltic pronunciation as heard by speakers of Latin.

ON THE RELATIONSHIP OF CODEX AUGIENSIS AND CODEX BOERNERIANUS OF THE PAULINE EPISTLES

BY WILLIAM HENRY PAINE HATCH

IT has been generally recognized since the time of Richard Bentley (1662–1742) that Codex Augiensis (F^p)¹ and Codex Boernerianus (G^p)² are closely related to each other. This relationship is proved by the omission of certain passages in the Greek text of the two manuscripts and by many identical readings found in them.³

Dr. Bentley seems to have been the first person to examine F^p and G^p carefully and to note the numerous resemblances between the two codices. He bought F^p from L. C. Mieg of Heidelberg in 1718, and in the following year he borrowed G^p from C. F. Börner of Leipzig. He had the latter in his possession for five years and offered to pay 200 guineas for it. However, Bentley's offer was not accepted; but before returning G^p to its owner he had a copy of it made, and this transcript is now in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge (B. 17.2).

I. LACUNAE IN F^p AND G^p

In F^p the first two chapters of Romans and more than half of the third chapter are lacking, viz. 1:1 (Παῦλος) — 3:19 (ἐν τῷ νόμῳ). Since the Latin text as well as the Greek is missing at this point, it is clear that the manuscript has lost several leaves at the beginning. Apparently six folia have perished. On the other hand in G^p there are two lacunae in the first two chapters of Romans, viz. 1:1 (ἀφωρισμένος) — 5 (πίστεως) and 2:16 (τὰ κρυπτά) — 25 (ἦς). We have of course no means of knowing whether or not these omissions were found in F^p before the codex was mutilated, and therefore they have no bearing on the question of the relationship of F^p and G^p.

On the other hand there are some very significant lacunae. Three passages of approximately the same length and one shorter passage are omitted in G^p, viz. 1 Cor. 3:8 (ὁ φυτεύων) — 16 (τοῦ θεοῦ); 6:7 (ἡδὴ) — 14 (αὐτοῦ); Col. 2:1 (καὶ ὅσοι) — 8 (τοῦ); and Phm. 21 (πεποιθώς) — 25 (ἀμήν). In each of these places the scribe has left a vacant space large enough to contain the missing matter. In F^p the Greek text of these four passages is lacking, but in this manuscript the corresponding Latin text is given in each case. These omissions

are unquestionably due to the loss of four leaves in some ancestor of the Greek text of F^p and G^p.⁴

There is also a relatively small lacuna in F^p and G^p which seems to have escaped the notice of Bentley, viz. 2 Tim. 2:12 (καὶ συνβασιλεύσομεν) — 13 (ἀπιστοῦμεν). The omitted words must have constituted one whole sense-line consisting of five words and two half sense-lines of two words each, and the omission was apparently due in the first instance solely to accident. A space large enough to contain the words in question is left vacant both in F^p and in G^p, and the sense-line εἰ ἀρνησόμεθα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρνήσεται ἡμᾶς is omitted in the Latin column of F^p.

The four lacunae noted by Bentley and the omission in 2 Timothy point unmistakably to a relationship of some sort between F^p and G^p. After certain other evidence has been adduced, we shall attempt to determine what this relationship is.

II. TEXTUAL AGREEMENTS OF F^p AND G^p

The two codices, as was said above, very often agree in regard to variant readings; and sometimes they stand alone against all other textual authorities in support of a particular lection. It will suffice to cite the following cases in which F^p and G^p are the sole witnesses for the reading in question: Rom. 3:20 (ἐπιγνωσεως *pro* ἐπιγνωσις); 4:15 (που *pro* οὗ) 7:23 (μοι *pro* μου¹); 9:1 (συν πνευματι *pro* εν πνευματι); 1 Cor. 2:13 (*om.* α); 3:22 (δι νμων *pro* νμων); 4:11 (εως *pro* αχρι της); 2 Cor. 1:4 (ινα *pro* εις); 3:17 (που *pro* οὗ); 5:6 (υπο *pro* απο); Gal. 1:13 (επολεμουν *pro* επορθουν); 1:23 (επολεμει *pro* επορθει); Eph. 4:21 (*praem.* η ante αληθεια); Phil. 4:10 (του *pro* το); Col. 1:24 (*om.* τη). These are only a few cases chosen at random. Many more might be cited.

It may be worth noting in passing that F^p and G^p frequently unite with Codex Claromontanus (D^p) and Codex Sangermanensis (E^p), either with or without other authorities, in attesting a variant reading. On account of these manifest likenesses von Soden combines D^p E^p F^p and G^p to form a subordinate group of four Graeco-Latin manuscripts (*I*^a) within his major type *I*.⁵ Other scholars call von Soden's *I*-text 'Western.' E^p is a ninth-century copy of D^p, and hence it has no value as an independent witness to the text of the Pauline Epistles.

The lacunae and the many textual agreements found in F^p and G^p, which have deeply impressed all students of the two codices, point conclusively to a relationship of some kind between F^p and G^p;

for neither the lacunae nor the textual agreements can be considered accidental or without significance.

III. TEXTUAL DISAGREEMENTS OF F^p AND G^p

On the other hand F^p and G^p differ in certain important respects, and their dissimilarities must be taken into account as well as their similarities.

We shall first note the textual disagreements of the two manuscripts. According to Scrivener, who investigated the problem with the utmost care and accuracy, F^p and G^p disagree in 1982 places. Most of these variants, however, have little real significance. Concerning them Scrivener says: "578 are mere blunders of the pen; 967 itacisms, or changes of one vowel into another; 166 relate to a similar interchange of consonants; 71 to grammatical or orthographical forms; while the real various readings amount to 200, of which 32 arise from the omission or insertion of the article. Elsewhere the Greek texts of these manuscripts are identical, coinciding in the minutest points."⁶ This is as complete and accurate a statement of the matter as could be desired.

The present writer has examined all the readings in which the two codices disagree. Most of them, as was said above, have little significance; but the cases which are about to be mentioned are highly significant. In these places the readings of F^p and G^p are each supported by one or more other textual authorities, and sometimes all the witnesses cited for a particular variant represent a single type of text.

In order to illustrate and justify the statement just made, it will suffice to cite the following *variae lectiones*:

Rom. 4:8 φ F^p cum S^cACD^cKLP al pler; οὐ G^p cum S^{*}BD*67**.

9:3 απο F^p cum SABCKL etc.; υπο G^p cum D.

9:31 νομον² add δικαιουσιν^{ης} F^p (cum obelo) cum S^c KLP al pler; sine additam G^p cum S^{*}ABD 47 67** 140.

15:5 ιν χν F^p cum SAC*P 37 72 109; χν ιν G^p cum BC²DL al pler.

15:9 τω ονοματι σου ψαλω F^p cum SABCLP al omn vid; ψαλω τω ονοματι σου G^p cum D^{gr}.

15:15 απο² F^p cum SB; υπο G^p cum ACDLP.

2 Cor. 7:13 τη παρακλησει υμων F^{pgr} cum KL al pler; τη παρακλησει ημων G^p cum SBCDP etc.

- 7:14 *η καυχησις υμων* F^{pgr} cum Bc^{scr}; *η καυχησις ημων* G^p cum SDKLP al pler.
- 8:23 *δοξα κυριου* F^{pgr} cum C; *δοξα χριστου* G^p cum al omn.
- Gal. 5:26 *αλληλοις* F^p cum SACDG²KL al longe plu; *αλληλους* G^{p*} cum BP al plus²⁵.
- 6:13 *καυχησονται* F^p cum al omn; *καυχησονται* G^{p*} cum DP 47^{*vid} 114 116 etc.
- Eph. 2:15 *αυτω* F^p cum S^{*}ABP etc.; *εαυτω* G^p cum S^cDKL al pler.
- Phil. 1:8 *ω χυ* F^p cum KL al pler; *χυ ω* G^p cum SABD^{*}P etc.
- 1 Tim. 3:12 *καλων* F^p cum D^{gr*}; *καλως* G^p cum al omn.
- 5:21 *ω χυ* F^p cum D^cKLP al pler; *χυ ω* G^p cum SAD^{*} etc.

From the variant readings quoted above and from the textual authorities cited in support of them three facts are clear: (a) that various strands of textual tradition are present in F^p and G^p; (b) that the same witness at one time supports F^p and at another G^p; and (c) that the divergent readings of the two manuscripts derive from different ancestors of F^p and G^p.

IV. OTHER DIFFERENCES BETWEEN F^p AND G^p

Thus far we have considered only the textual disagreements of F^p and G^p. There are also other differences between the two codices, and these must now be taken into account.

The first difference to be noted concerns the doxology which in most manuscripts is found at the end of the Epistle to the Romans. This short passage is omitted both in F^p and in G^p. In the former, however, the Latin text of the doxology is given at the end of the epistle; and a space is left vacant at this point in the Greek column. The scribe of F^p evidently thought that this ascription of praise to God should stand at the end of Romans, but it was missing in the Greek text which he was copying. On the other hand in G^p the subscription to Romans follows immediately after 16:24; and a space large enough to contain about five lines of text is left vacant at the end of Chapter xiv, where the doxology occurs in about 230 ancient copies of Romans. Although the passage in question was not found in the Greek text employed by the scribe of G^p, the copyist clearly believed that it should be inserted at the end of Chapter xiv. In F^p there is no vacant space between Chapters xiv and xv.

The words of the Greek text are separated both in F^p and in G^p, and a point in the middle position is often used to mark the separa-

tion. Such points are more common in the former than in the latter. In separating the words of the text the scribes of these codices made many stupid blunders, mistakes of this sort being more frequent in *F^p* than in *G^p*. The copyists knew very little Greek, and they do not agree at least conspicuously in their blunders.⁷

Apparently many ancient copies of the New Testament were written in short sense-lines, some of which consisted of only one or two words. The length of the lines was determined by the sense. Although this system was abandoned at a comparatively early date, it has survived at least to some extent in several extant manuscripts. For example, in Codex Bezae (*D*), especially in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark and in the Acts, the lines correspond more or less closely to the sense.⁸ The same arrangement of the text is also found in Codex Claromontanus (*D^p*).

G^p is a witness to this ancient usage. In this manuscript the lines extend across the page and are of approximately the same length; but large initial letters are very often used to mark the beginning of what were once sense-lines. It is clear therefore that *G^p* was copied either from an exemplar in which the beginning of each sense-line was indicated by a large initial letter or from a copy whose text was actually written in sense-lines. In either case *G^p* is descended from an ancestor in which the writing was arranged in unequal lines according to the sense, as it is in Codex Bezae (*D*) and Codex Claromontanus (*D^p*).

On the other hand large initial letters occur much more sparingly in *F^p* than in *G^p*, and they are not employed to mark the beginning of sense-lines. Of these there is no trace in *F^p*. Hence either the exemplar from which the latter was copied was not written in sense-lines; or, if the text of the exemplar was so written, for some reason the scribe of *F^p* did not perpetuate this ancient arrangement of the text. His knowledge of Greek was deplorably meagre, and he probably knew nothing about sense-lines. It is true that the same word often begins with a large letter in both manuscripts, but there is a different reason for its use in either case. This difference between *F^p* and *G^p*, which seems to have been derived directly from the archetypes of these two codices, is a matter of considerable moment.

Both *F^p* and *G^p* are Graeco-Latin manuscripts, but the Latin texts found in them are of different types. In *F^p* the Latin version is substantially the Vulgate, whereas in *G^p* the Latin text is mainly of the Old Latin type. Although this difference between the Latin texts of these two codices has little or no weight in determining the relation-

ship of the Greek texts of F^p and G^p, the fact that the Latin texts are of different types should certainly not be ignored. However, neither in F^p nor in G^p is the Latin text a pure representative of its type. For, as in Codex Bezae (D) and in most Graeco-Latin manuscripts, a certain amount of interaction between the Greek and the Latin text has taken place both in F^p and in G^p.⁹ Such interaction seems to have been almost inevitable in bilingual codices.

Furthermore, there is a difference between F^p and G^p in regard to the position of the Greek and Latin texts in reference to each other. In the former the two texts are in parallel columns; and when the manuscript lies open, the Greek text occupies the two inner columns and the Latin the two outer columns. In G^p, on the other hand, there is only one column on each page; and the Latin version, which follows the Greek original word for word, is written above the latter. Thus the reader has before him the Greek text together with an inter-linear Latin translation.

In the oldest Graeco-Latin manuscripts, such as Codex Bezae (D) of the fifth or sixth century and Codex Claromontanus (D^p) of the sixth century, the Greek and Latin texts are given on alternate pages; and similarly in Codex Borgianus (T^a) of the fifth or sixth century the Greek and Sahidic texts occupy alternate pages. However, as early as the sixth or seventh century the Greek and Latin texts were sometimes put in parallel columns, as in Codex Laudianus (E^a). At the end of the ninth or at the beginning of the tenth century the Latin version was sometimes written above the Greek text, as in Codex Sangallensis (Δ) and Codex Boernerianus (G^p). An inter-linear Latin translation was doubtless helpful to those who, like the scribes of F^p and G^p, knew very little Greek; but anyone who could read Greek easily would certainly have preferred to have the Greek and Latin texts on alternate pages or in parallel columns.

A minor difference between F^p and G^p is also worthy of mention. The superscription of the Epistle to the Laodiceans is given both in Greek and in Latin at the end of Philemon in the latter manuscript, whereas in the former there is no trace of this spurious document. In most of the codices which contain it Laodiceans follows immediately after Colossians, but its position varies considerably in different copies of the Pauline Epistles. Since a letter from Laodicea is mentioned in Colossians 4:16, it was natural to put Laodiceans next after Colossians. Not infrequently, however, the apocryphal epistle stands immediately after Hebrews, being the last member of the Pauline corpus. It is seldom placed at the end of Philemon.¹⁰ The text of Laodiceans,

or at least the superscription of the epistle, probably occupied this position in the manuscript from which the Latin text of G^p was taken.

V. THEORIES OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF F^p AND G^p

Four theories have been proposed for the purpose of explaining the relationship of F^p and G^p , viz.: (a) that the two codices were made from the same exemplar; (b) that G^p is a copy of F^p ; (c) that F^p was copied from G^p ; and (d) that both manuscripts are descended from a common ancestor. Each of these hypotheses has been held by at least one distinguished scholar to be the most satisfactory solution of the problem.

(a) Dr. Bentley thought that F^p and G^p were made from the same exemplar.¹¹ This was a simple and natural explanation of the problem presented by these two codices, and the great English scholar merely stated his opinion without bringing forward any arguments in support of it.

After Bentley's time several other scholars held this view concerning the relationship of F^p and G^p . Thus, on the basis of a careful study, Dr. Scrivener concluded that the two manuscripts were copied from the same exemplar. He says that F^p and G^p "are derived from the same Greek prototype,"¹² and that they are "the surviving representatives of a manuscript now lost, perhaps a century or two older than themselves."¹³ Tischendorf also recognized the close affinity of F^p and G^p , and he declares that they were conformed to the same Greek model and derived from the same source.¹⁴ In other words Tischendorf agreed with Bentley in regard to the relationship of the two codices. So, too, Bishop Westcott and Dr. Hort, perceiving that F^p and G^p are closely related to each other, allowed the possibility that the former "is an inferior copy of the same immediate exemplar."¹⁵ Finally, Dr. Corssen, after a thorough study of the question, came to the conclusion that the two manuscripts were copied from the same codex.¹⁶

Some scholars who held that F^p and G^p were made from the same exemplar have left open the question whether they were copied mediately or immediately from this common source. Thus Bishop Lightfoot says that "these two MSS are very closely allied, and must have been copied mediately or immediately from the same prototype."¹⁷ Afterwards he conceded that an entirely different theory maintained by Dr. Hort deserved consideration and might prove to be true.¹⁸ Nevertheless, Lightfoot seems to have retained his own view concerning the relationship of F^p and G^p . Dr. Tregelles also noted the

close connexion of the two codices, and he explained it as Lightfoot had. Tregelles says of F^p and G^p that they "both appear to be transcripts (mediate or immediate) of the same copy."¹⁹

(b) Wetstein observed the striking similarity of F^p and G^p and accounted for it on the ground that one of the two manuscripts was copied from the other. He thought that G^p is a transcript of F^p , but he says that he would not quarrel with anyone who held that F^p is a copy of G^p .²⁰

Wetstein's hypothesis, however, was not accepted by many scholars. Semler examined it carefully and rejected it as untenable;²¹ and Michaelis said that the data necessary for testing it and deciding the question at issue were not available. He wrongly accused Wetstein of omitting certain evidence which the latter had cited.²² Many years later Scrivener wrote thus concerning the theory proposed by Wetstein: "That Cod. G cannot have been taken from Cod. F appears both from matters connected with their respective Latin versions, and because F contains no trace of the vacant lines left in G at the end of Rom. xiv to receive ch. xvi. 25-27."²³

Since F^p is inferior to G^p , it would be easier to believe that F^p was copied from G^p than that G^p was made from F^p . The scribe of G^p was not qualified to improve upon the language of F^p , and an ignorant copyist is more likely to introduce new errors than to eliminate old mistakes.

(c) Dr. Hort was induced by a query of Bishop Westcott to investigate anew the relationship of F^p and G^p . Previously Hort had assumed, with most scholars, that the two manuscripts were copied independently from the same exemplar; but his own study of the question led him to the conclusion that "the scribe of G alone used the archetype, and that F is a copy of G."²⁴ This was the view held by Westcott and Hort, but nevertheless they allowed that F^p and G^p may have been made from "the same immediate exemplar," F^p being "an inferior copy" of that codex.²⁵ Bishop Lightfoot, as we have already seen, conceded that Hort's theory deserved consideration and "ought not to be hastily rejected."²⁶ However, Lightfoot deemed Hort's arguments not "quite conclusive," and he apparently clung to his own view at least tentatively.

Soon after the appearance of Westcott and Hort's Greek New Testament Dr. Zimmer published an article on the relationship of F^p and G^p . He arrived independently at the same conclusion as Hort, viz. that the former is an inferior copy of the latter.²⁷

(d) Within a few years Zimmer's arguments were subjected to a

searching examination by William Benjamin Smith, and the hypothesis that F^p was copied from G^p was rejected in favour of the view that the two manuscripts are descended from a common ancestor. Using a term taken from the sphere of human relationships, Smith refers to F^p and G^p as cousins.²⁸ Soon afterwards von Soden accepted this theory of the relationship of the two codices.²⁹

VI. CONCLUSIONS

What conclusions should be drawn from the facts which have been set before the reader in this study? In order to answer this question, the likenesses and the unlikenesses of F^p and G^p must both be taken into account.

The similarities of the two manuscripts are of two sorts, viz. the omission of the same passages in both codices and the attestation of the same variant readings in many places by both of them. The lacunae and the textual agreements of F^p and G^p prove conclusively that these two manuscripts are closely related to each other. Indeed, on the basis of this evidence alone one might conclude that one of them was copied from the other, or that they were both made from the same exemplar.

On the other hand the dissimilarities of F^p and G^p are highly significant. They fall into two classes — (*a*) those which concern the Greek text and (*b*) those which have to do with the Latin text.

In the first class are the numerous textual disagreements of F^p and G^p , the differences between the two codices in separating the words of the text, and the fact that G^p in contradistinction to F^p contains unmistakable traces of a division of the text into sense-lines.

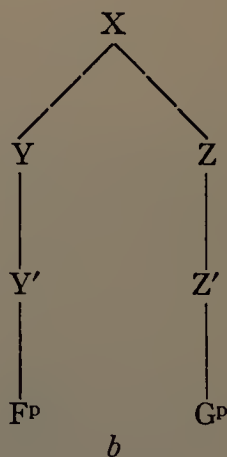
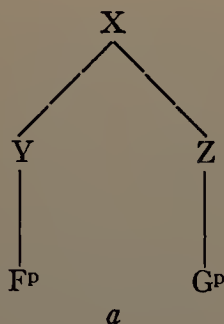
In the second class are two facts of considerable moment — (*a*) that the Latin text of F^p is substantially the Vulgate, whereas that of G^p is mainly of the Old Latin type; and (*b*) that in F^p the Latin text is put in a column by itself alongside the Greek, whereas in G^p the Latin translation is written above the Greek text line by line, each Latin word being placed above the corresponding Greek word. These differences between F^p and G^p in regard to the Latin text may not preclude the possibility that the Greek text of one of the two manuscripts was copied from that of the other, or that the Greek texts of both codices were made from the same exemplar; but such differences in the Latin text certainly militate against both of these hypotheses concerning the origin of the Greek text.

However, the dissimilarities of F^p and G^p in regard to the Greek text make it impossible to believe either that one of the two manu-

scripts was copied directly from the other or that they were both made from the same exemplar. The textual disagreements are too numerous and the variants are too different in character to be explained in either of these ways. Moreover, it was pointed out above that different strands of textual tradition are present in each of these codices. On the other hand since F^p and G^p are closely related to each other, they must be descended from a common ancestor; and the latter must have been far enough back on the ancestral tree to allow for the intrusion of various dissimilar traits into each of the two manuscripts. These dissimilar traits were derived from forebears which F^p and G^p did not have in common.

When the textual agreements and disagreements of the two codices are taken into account, the only logical conclusion seems to be that F^p and G^p are related collaterally. In terms of human relationship they might be described as cousins.

The accompanying stemmata will help to make the relationship of the two manuscripts clear. The present writer prefers the second (*b*). The letter X is used to designate the common ancestor of F^p and G^p .



VII. THE COMMON ANCESTOR OF F^p AND G^p

It is possible to make a few observations in regard to the common ancestor of F^p and G^p — a codex which has without doubt perished.

1. The Greek text of X was 'Western.'
2. The words were probably not separated in the Greek text of X.
3. The Greek text of X was probably written in sense-lines.

4. X probably did not have the doxology at the end of the Epistle to the Romans. If G^p is a better representative of X than F^p, either the doxology or a vacant space large enough to contain it was probably found at the end of Chapter xiv in X.
5. X was probably a Graeco-Latin manuscript.
6. The Latin text of X was probably of the Old Latin type. The Greek and Latin texts were probably on alternate pages, as in Codex Bezae (D) and Codex Claromontanus (D^p); or they may have occupied parallel columns on the same page, as in Codex Laudianus (E^a) and Codex Augiensis (F^p). The Latin version was probably not written above the Greek text, as in Codex Sangallensis (Δ) and Codex Boernerianus (G^p).

We know nothing about the date or provenance of X. The manuscript may have been contemporary with Codex Bezae (D) or Codex Claromontanus (D^p), and it may have been copied in the same region. Some scholars think that the two manuscripts just mentioned were produced in Egypt, and it is possible that X was also of Egyptian origin. Egypt had a bilingual population; and consequently bilingual copies of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, many of which were written in sense-lines, were much in vogue.³⁰ Moreover, the so-called 'Western' text was current in Egypt in early times.

NOTES

1. Cambridge, Library of Trinity College, Cod. B.17.1. See F. H. [A.] Scrivener, *An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis* (Cambridge and London, 1859).

2. Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Cod. A 145^b. See A. Reichardt, *Der Codex Boernerianus* (Leipzig, 1909).

3. Griesbach notes the fact that G^p is very closely related to F^p ("proxima affinitate cognatus codici F"), but he does not discuss the relationship or try to explain it. See J. J. Griesbach, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (second ed., Halle and London, 1796-1806), II, XXII. Scrivener says: "The close affinity subsisting between the Codices Augiensis and Boernerianus has indeed no parallel in this branch of literature." See F. H. [A.] Scrivener, *op. cit.*, pp. xxv f. Codex Claromontanus (D^p) and Codex Sangermanensis (E^p) are even more closely related to each other than Codex Augiensis and Codex Boernerianus. E^p was copied directly from D^p somewhere in the West. See C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1900-1909), I, 109.

4. Bentley perceived that each of these lacunae was caused by the loss of a leaf in the archetype. See his notes reproduced by Scrivener in *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 64, 191, and 251.

5. See H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin, 1902-1913), I, 1, § 489.

6. See F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (fourth ed., London, 1894), I, 180 f. In an earlier work Scrivener says that the two manuscripts disagree in 1984 places. See *An Exact Transcript*, p. xxvi.

7. See F. H. [A.] Scrivener, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

8. See A. C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford, 1933), p. 178.

9. See J. H. Ropes in F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* (London, 1920-1933), III, lxxviii f.; B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (Cambridge and London, 1885). Introduction, § 115; and E. Diehl in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XX (1921), 107.

10. On the position of Laodiceans in various Vulgate manuscripts see J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (London and New York, 1892), pp. 280 ff.

11. Bentley wrote in an extant copy of the New Testament at Rom. 1:1-3:19, where FP is defective: "Variae lectiones ex altero nostro Msto, ejusdem veteris exemplaris apographo." The words "ex altero nostro Msto" apparently refer to GP. See F. H. [A.] Scrivener, *op. cit.*, pp. xxvi and 284; and A. Reichardt, *Der Codex Boernerianus* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 17. Corssen, on the other hand, thought that the variant readings were taken from Codex Claromontanus. See P. Corssen, *Epistularum Paulinarum Codices Graece et Latine scriptos Augiensem Boernerianum Claromontanum* (Kiel, 1887-1889), Specimen primum, p. 1, note 1. However, the phrase "ex altero nostro Msto" seems to the present writer to apply much more naturally to Codex Boernerianus, which Bentley had borrowed from Börner, and which he hoped to purchase from its German owner.

12. See F. H. [A.] Scrivener, *op. cit.*, p. xxvi.

13. See F. H. [A.] Scrivener, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

14. See C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (eighth ed., Leipzig, 1869-1872), II, *in init.*

15. See B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *op. cit.*, Introduction, § 203.

16. See P. Corssen, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

17. See J. B. Lightfoot in *The Journal of Philology*, II, No. 4 (1869), p. 292; and *Colossians and Philemon*, p. 277.

18. See J. B. Lightfoot in *op. cit.*, III, No. 6 (1871), p. 210, note 2.

19. See S. P. Tregelles, *The Greek New Testament* (London, 1857-1879), Part IV, pp. i f.

20. See J. J. Wetstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum* (Amsterdam, 1751-1752), II, 9.

21. See J. S. Semler, *Vorbereitung zur theologischen Hermeneutik* (Halle, 1760-1769), Stück IV, pp. 66 ff.

22. See J. D. Michaelis, *Einleitung in die göttlichen Schriften* (fourth ed., Göttingen, 1788), I, 579. Michaelis's charge against Wetstein was only partly true. On this see H. Marsh, *Introduction to the New Testament by John David Michaelis* (third ed., London, 1819), II, Part II, p. 674.

23. See F. H. A. Scrivener, *Introduction*, I, 181, note 2.

24. See F. J. A. Hort in *The Journal of Philology*, III, No. 5 (1870), p. 67, note 1.

25. See B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *op. cit.*, Introduction, § 203.

26. See J. B. Lightfoot in *op. cit.*, III, No. 6 (1871), p. 210, note 2; and *Colossians and Philemon*, p. 277, note 2.

27. See F. Zimmer in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, XXX (1887), pp. 76 ff.; and in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, XV (1890), cols. 59 ff.
28. See W. B. Smith in *The American Journal of Theology*, VII (1903), 452-485 and 662-688.
29. See H. von Soden, *op. cit.*, I, 1, § 489 B.
30. See A. C. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. lxii.

MYSTERION

BY ARTHUR DARBY NOCK

MYSTERION in Paul's letters and in Mark 4.11 has no relation to its familiar use to denote either pagan initiatory ceremonials (and their symbols or concomitants) or other experiences metaphorically so described. What lies behind it is the meaning, 'secret' (whether natural or supernatural), found in the Greek versions of the Old Testament.¹ Writers who did not have any such background sometimes used *mysterion* as 'secret' without any implication that the secret in question had been imparted by a process or stages of initiation, real or metaphorical, which involved the passivity of the recipient.² Nevertheless, to the best of my knowledge, no instance has been noted of *mysterion* in such Greek with the sense of 'truth of revelation which is now vouchsafed, not as an esoteric doctrine but as an open secret to be shouted from the housetops' (as I Cor. 15.51 and *Corp. Herm.* I 16).

One is afforded by an epitaph written in the middle of the third century of our era on a hierophant at Eleusis.

Γηραλέην ψυχὴν ἐπ' ἀκμαίῳ σώματι Γλαῦκος
καὶ κάλλει κεράσας κρείττονα σωφροσύνην
ὄργια πᾶσιν ἔφαινε βροτοῖς φαεσίμβροτα Διοῦς
εἰνάετες, δεκάτῳ δ' ἦλθε πρὸς ἀθανάτους.
ἦ καλὸν ἐκ μακάρων μυστήριον, οὐ μόνον εἶναι
τὸν θάνατον θνητοῖς οὐ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἀγαθόν.

To quote J. H. Oliver's version (which I do by his courtesy), 'Glaucus, joining a soul of old age to a body still in its prime, and to beauty of person adding the better part, wise self-control, revealed to all mankind the light-bringing rites of Deo for nine years, but in the tenth went to the immortals. Verily a revelation from the blessed ones, fair and mysterious, that death to mortals is no evil, but good.'³

The author of this, as of several other poems strongly marked by classicism, was probably the hierophant's nephew.⁴ It is the more interesting that *mysterion* should appear as 'revelation' in such writing; it must be a coincidence, illustrating the natural capacity of the word to take this meaning. Like *telete*, it was a popular and sonorous

term.⁵ The choice of *mysterion* in this context was probably suggested by the Eleusinian context,⁶ and perhaps in a measure by the idea that truth could be learned in a sanctuary.⁷

From of old it was believed that Demeter's shrine had given to men a new hope, and Eleusinian piety showed even more intense forms under the Empire. Nevertheless, according to our text, death itself, and not, as we might have expected, the death of an initiate is a happy thing; and this is a revelation from 'the blessed ones' and not from Demeter alone. It is not that the author was unfamiliar with the promise of the Mysteries; an epitaph in the same group describes a *hierophantis*, who was probably the author's grandmother, as one 'whom Deo requiting led to the Islands of the Blest free from pain of any kind.'⁸

As Oliver remarks, the antecedents of this *mysterion* are philosophical — or, if you prefer, literary. In spite of the positive statement, 'went to the immortals,' it involves what S. H. Butcher called 'the melancholy of the Greeks'⁹ and is used in the style of a familiar ancient type of consolation.¹⁰ Much the same idea is given a different application by Lucan IV 517 ff.

agnoscere solis
 permissum, quos iam tangit vicinia fati,
 victurosque dei celant, ut vivere durent,
 felix esse mori.

The speaker, Volteius, is encouraging his little band to continue their hopeless stand, and he employs the motif of the prophetic powers of dying men, for which we may turn to Professor A. S. Pease's note on Cic. *Div.* I 63.

Glaucus on the other hand reverts to the calm tone of Socrates, with an added note of assurance which came later. Since it is said that his uncle 'revealed to all mankind the light-bringing rites of Deo,' there may be a slight suggestion that the goodness of death is due to Demeter's grace; but it is no more than that.

NOTES

1. Cf. Bornkamm in G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, IV 809 ff. (adding C. Bonner, *Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek* [London, 1937] 103.2, p. 63, and 104.12, p. 75; also *ib.* 107.3, p. 85, the adverb *μυστηριακῶς*). I doubt even any awareness of the specifically religious sense of *μνέω* in Phil. 4.12 (Bornkamm inclines with hesitation to the other view and feels a note of irony); I certainly question whether Paul felt any connection between noun and verb. On his usage in general, cf. my remarks in *Essays on*

the *Trinity and the Incarnation*, ed. A. E. J. Rawlinson [London, 1928], 81 ff. and *J. Bibl. Lit.* LII (1933), 131 ff. On the range of *μυστήριον* cf. also Liddell-Scott-Jones, s.v., 1156 and 2091b.

2. To Bornkamm's material add Ps. Callisthen. *Hist. Alex.* III 22f., p. 121.23, 122.29, ed. Kroll (of royal secrets); Artemidor. I 80, p. 81.8 ed. Hercher (of personal secrets — as in Soran. *Gyn.* 1 3 f., pp. 4.25, 5.27 ed. Ilberg: *ib.* p. 5.29 of some individual idiosyncrasy which might arouse superstition; Bornkamm, l.c. 817 translates as *Aberglaube*. The context in Soranus, like II 19 pp. 66 ff., affords a parallel to the qualifications of an ideal bishop as stated in I Tim. 3, Tit. 1); A. J. Festugière, *R. Bibl.* XLVIII (1939), 50 n. 1 (on alchemical use, like that in medical texts, as an impressive trade name for a recipe — but with the possibility of overtones, in view of the particular strain of mysticism found in this literature. Cf. the story of the book buried with Hippocrates; Fr. Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis* [Leipzig, 1914], 136).

When Herodian VIII 7.4 describes the Roman military oath as 'the holy mystery of Roman rule,' we should perhaps think of the use of the word to describe holy objects. [Cf. Plut. *Aemil. Paull.* 3.7 on *ῥηγία* as analogous to the secrets of Roman military discipline.] Herodian in effect puts the oath on a par with the fire of Vesta and the *pignora quae imperium Romanum tenent* (Serv. in *Aen.* VII 188; cf. K. Gross, *Die Unterpfänder d. röm. Herrschaft* [*Neue deutsche Forschungen*, Abt. *Alte Geschichte*, I, 1935] and J. Liegle, *Hermes*, LXXVII (1942), 275). Cf. Claudian, *Bell. Poll.* 103 (p. 263 ed. Birt) *arcanum tanti deprendere regni* (of the shrines of Rome). O. Casel, *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, II (1922), 19 n. remarks that Herodian's use is the converse of the Christian adoption of *sacramentum* as an equivalent for *μυστήριον*. But *μ.* corresponds to our *arcanum* or *secretum*, and *ῥρκος* is here the word for 'oath,' *sacramentum*.

There is a puzzling late inscription at Sparta:

τοῦτό σοι ναὸς καλεῖται, τοῦτό σοι μυστήριον.

τοῦτο δὲ τὸν ζῶντα ποιεῖν, τέλος ὄρωντα τοῦ βίου.

(*I.G.* V i, 361.) H. J. Tillyard, *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* XII (1905/6), 476, suggested that 'in spite of the lack of Christian symbols, it may have come from a Church.' Wilamowitz (in *I.G.*) remarked, 'cauponae potius quam ecclesiae conveniunt optimi trochaei omni christianorum arte superiores,' a view which (in spite of *Copa* 37 f.) O. Kern, *RE* XVI 1210, is probably right in doubting. Trochaics are rare in verse inscriptions, and I incline to think that this is a quotation from some gnomic source (cf. the lines discussed in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XXXIII [1940], 313). On that assumption we should understand 'this,' τοῦτο, which appears with no such explicit reference as in Lucian, *Char.* 19, and *Anth. Pal.* V 72.1, X 76.7, and 102.5 (cf. R. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen* [Lpz., 1899], 103 ff., πείνε, βλέπεις τὸ τέλος; J. Keil-A. Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 57 εἰς τόδε κατεθέμην τέλος). For the Spartan inscription it should be further remarked that *μυστήριον* can denote a building (W. H. Buckler-D. M. Robinson, *Sardis* VII, i, no. 17.6 and p. 40).

Oppian, *Cyn.* IV 19 (*μυστήρια τέχνης*) is close to the idea of metaphorical initiation, as is τῶν Μουσῶν τὰ μυστήρια (V. Martin, *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* [London 1932] 245 ff. [also in Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 7567] cf. U. Wilcken, *Arch. Pap.-Forsch.* XI [1935], 305 f.). Cf. *Gnomon*, XIII (1937), 156 f.

On Menander 695 I share Kock's doubts; and Ps. Phocylidea 229 is in all probability Jewish. I do not understand Vett. Val. p. 109.6 ed. Kroll, *μυστηρίων*

δίκην; (is it 'as wonderworking recipes do'?); elsewhere Vett. has *μυστήριον* as 'secret' and also *μυστήριον* and its correlatives both of initiations, real or metaphorical, and of astrology. Greek use was always fluid, and Vettius loved impressive words; *μυστικός* is a favorite of his.

3. *Hesperia, Supp.* VIII (1949), 252.

4. Oliver, *l.c.*, 246 ff.

5. Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, X (1934), 15. In his forthcoming *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, II he speaks of the use of such words as a 'Redensart.' Cf. also S. Eitrem, *Orakel und Mysterien am Ausgang der Antike* (Zürich, 1947).

6. Cf. Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca*, 588.4 (= *I.G.* XIV 1449) *τούτοις ἐκτελέσας μυστήρια πάντοτε σεμνῶς* and 6 f. *μύσται εἴτε φίλοι βιότητος ἐκάστης | πάνθ' ὑπολανθάνετε τὰ βίου συνεχῶς μυστήρια σεμνά* for a similar verbal association.—The choice of the word *μυστ.* excludes any allusion to the *τελευτᾶν-τελεῖσθαι* idea of Themist. (?) *ap.* Stob. V p. 1089 ed. Hense.

7. Cf. my *Conversion* [Oxford, 1933], 107 ff., 114 f.

8. Oliver, *l.c.*, 249; *I.G.* II (ed. 2), 3632.

9. Cf. Rohde's remarks on this text in *Psyche*, II (ed. 3 Tüb. 1903), 389.

10. Cf. *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XXXIII (1940), 301 ff. and on the text there discussed also A. M. Frenkian, *Rev. ét. indoeuropéennes*, III (1943), 178 ff.

SOCRATES AND CHRIST

BY GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN

IN 1938, the archaeological mission of the Belgian Museums discovered in Apamea on the Orontes a mosaic which is remarkable as an eloquent expression of late paganism and as an artistic parallel to some of the most important compositions of Early Christian art. This mosaic is shown by its inscription to represent Socrates and his disciples (Figs. 1-2). It belongs to a group of mosaics found in a building (*dépendance*) adjoining the eastern apse of a Christian church ("East Basilica") of the sixth century A.D. According to the excavators, these mosaics "may have some relation to the four pillars of a probably Roman building, to which the Christians added four apses in order to transform it into a church."¹ The Roman mosaics were found at a depth of 0.45 m below the level of the church floor. The building had not been completely excavated when work on the site was stopped by the outbreak of the war; no further information of chronological value for the date of the mosaics had been obtained.

Three interesting figurative mosaics and some ornamental mosaics were included in the design of one floor.² Since they are of importance for our estimate of the character and taste of the original inhabitants, we shall briefly describe the "Therapenides" mosaic and the "Kallos" mosaic as well as the Socrates mosaic, which is our main subject.

1. The "Therapenides" mosaic. Brussels. *Bull. Musées Royaux*, Bruxelles, III, 5, x (1938), pp. 99 ff., fig. 3 (complete), fig. 1, frontispiece (detail of a dancing figure). *Antiquité Classique* VIII (1939), p. 202, pl. 4 and pl. 3, 3 (detail). D. Levi, *Proceed. Amer. Philosoph. Soc.* XXXVII (1944), p. 426.

This mosaic is said by Mlle V. Verhoogen of the Brussels Museum³ to be "of much finer design, composition, and technique than the other Apamean mosaics. The cubes are smaller, with a wider range of coloring, and very careful rendering of details." A sloping, stage-like space is limited on the right by a projecting tower with a tree and in the background by a wall which runs parallel to the frontal plane of the "stage." On the left, an arched gate reveals the colonnade and walls of a precinct in a way reminiscent of many Pompeian paintings and some of the mosaics of Antioch.⁴ Six girls whirl in a graceful dance grasping each other's hands. Near the arch, a man

armed with a spear and clad in traveller's garb embraces a woman in white whose head is veiled, while another woman, attired in dark garments, gazes earnestly at the group. In the right-hand upper corner of the mosaic are the inscriptions ΘΕΡΑΠΗΕΝΙΑΔΕC, *Therapenides* (Servants). According to an ingenious suggestion made by F. Cumont, the mosaic illustrates an anecdote told by Myrsilos of Lesbos.⁵ The story was apparently invented to supply a bad etymology for the word Muses. According to this story, Makar, King of Lesbos, was in continuous dispute with his wife. Their daughter Megaklo bought some Mysian slaves (*Mysas*) who, in Aeolian dialect, were called *Moisai*. These "Muses" through their music brought about a reconciliation of Makar and his wife. The grateful Megaklo founded the cult of the Muses in Lesbos.

According to this interpretation, the embracing couple of the mosaic would represent the King and his wife, the onlooker is Megaklo, and the dancing girls are the new Muses. Objections may be made to this interpretation,⁶ but it seems probable that the mosaic illustrates a literary source concerned with the importance of dancing.

2. The "Kallos" mosaic. Left in Apamea. *Bull. Brux.* III, 1. xii, pp. 11 f., fig. 11. *Antiquité Classique* X (1941), pp. 11 f., pl. 10.

Only one corner of this mosaic has been uncovered. A piece of cloth is held by a person, of whom only the bare legs and arms are preserved. Another figure, apparently nude except for a cloak which flies behind her back, is partly concealed by the cloth. It is quite certain that a third figure, who held the other end of the cloth, corresponded to the one which we have described first. The design resembles the famous "Birth of Aphrodite" or "Aphrodite Rising from the Sea" as depicted on the "Ludovisi Throne."⁷ In the background on the right is a square tower similar to that of the Therapenides mosaic. Above the tower is the inscription: *Kallos* (Beauty). It may be conjectured that the mosaic represented Beauty in the likeness of Aphrodite concealed, revealed, or merely dried by two attendant maidens. The tower shows that the scene is laid near a city.

It is obvious that here in Apamea as often in Antioch, the owner or owners selected the topics for the mosaics according to their literary or intellectual interests. The recondite subject of the Therapenides mosaic indicates a reader who went beyond Euripides and Homer; while the interest not in Aphrodite but in the more abstract concept of Beauty awakens suspicion that the owner may have desired to lay claim to the honorable title of a *Platonikos*.⁸ The Socrates



FIG. 1. Socrates and Six Disciples. Mosaic. Apamea. Photograph courtesy Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire, Brussels



FIG. 2. Head of Socrates. Mosaic. Apamea. After *Bulletin des Musées Royaux*, Brussels XII, 1, Jan. Feb. 1940, fig. 1

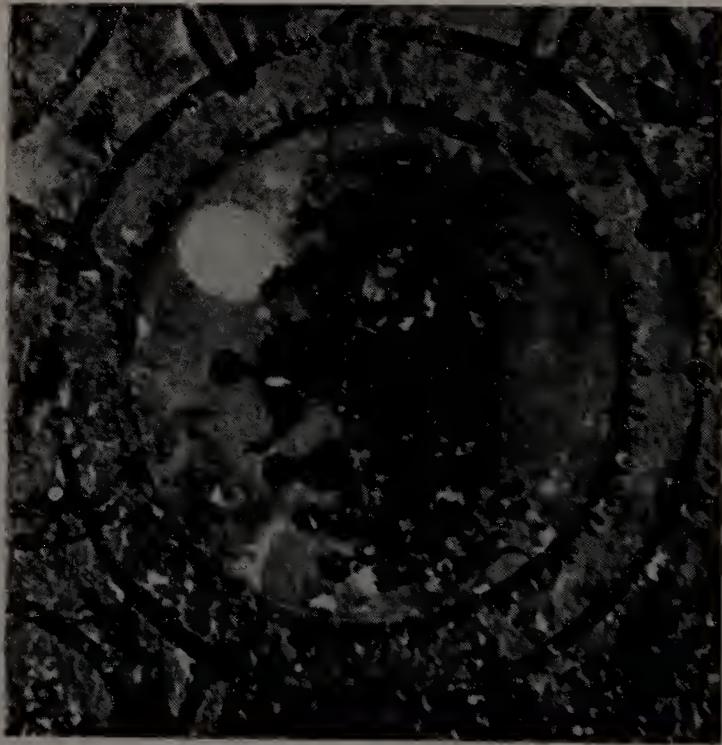


FIG. 4. Christ and Six Disciples. Painting of a Ceiling. Catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus ("Inter Duas Lauros"). After G. Wilpert, *Le Pitture delle Catacombe*, pl. 96



FIG. 3. The Seven Sages. Formerly Demidoff Collection. After Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, pl. 35, fig. 35



FIG. 5. Bust of Plato. Altes Museum, Berlin. After R. Boehringer, *Plato*, pl. 3

mosaic, to which we now turn, would be a very fitting expression for such aspirations.

3. The "Socrates" mosaic (Figs. 1-2). H. Lacoste, *Antiquité Classique* X (1941), p. 121, pl. 1 (detail) and pl. 9. *Bull. Brux. Ser. III*, xii, no. 1, Jan. Feb. (1940), p. 9, fig. 1 (detail), fig. 10. *AJA L* (1946), p. 303. K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, 1943, pp. 191 and 214. Ch. Picard, *Revue Archéologique* XXVIII (July, 1947), pp. 74 f.

According to Mlle V. Verhoogen, the mosaic was left *in situ* in Apamea. It was found at the same level as the Therapenides mosaic. Unfortunately, the lower part of the mosaic is lost, as is the left upper corner; smaller parts are missing in various places. As yet no detailed description has been given by the excavators, but the main subject is clear enough. Seven bearded philosophers are seated on a curving bench (exedra). In the center is Socrates, raised somewhat above the others. He turns his head slightly downward and toward the right and raises his right hand in the gesture of teaching.⁹ His head is flanked by the letters CWKPATHC. His cloak is draped over the left shoulder leaving bare the right shoulder and part of the chest.¹⁰ His six companions all wear philosopher's cloaks; those on his right and his left are distinguished by cloaks with dark stripes which run along the edges of the garments.¹¹

The philosopher on the left of Socrates is particularly well-groomed; his hair is parted carefully and is combed to the sides. He is apparently conceived as looking up to Socrates, although in reality his glance seems to go past the teacher. The next man toward the left is shaggy and ill-kempt; he seems to look straight ahead and opens his mouth as if to speak. The philosopher at the left end of the group is a venerable man with white hair who turns his glance downward in deep thought. On the right of Socrates, a sage of dark mien with unruly hair supports his head with his hand as he ponders some weighty problem. The two philosophers at the right end of the group are somewhat similar in posture and in facial type. Both have their hair cut short over the forehead and their beards are relatively short and rounded. They look perturbed or even dolorous. As far as one can tell from the photograph, five participants in the assembly hold scrolls; whether Socrates and his neighbor on the right also had this attribute is uncertain.¹²

Although they are somewhat differentiated in posture and attire, the philosophers display a certain basic resemblance. All are portrayed as weighty voluminous figures. All are mature and dignified

men, all have the same flashing, burning eyes. A feeling of intensive meditation shared as a common experience pervades this Apamean "School of Athens," which is portrayed as a solemn conclave reminiscent of tribunals and religious assemblies. Clearly, not the amusing anecdotes about Socrates and the individual Socratics but the inspirational power of the protomartyr of philosophy and his communion with other lofty minds were uppermost in the mind of the artist.

The rectangular panel of the Socrates mosaic is framed in a careful border. Two zones of stepped "turrets" flank a rich pattern of palmette leaves, arranged in bunches of five. These bands of leaves meet at round, brooch-like disks placed at the center of each side and also in the four corners. This leaf-border functions as a picture frame. It was surrounded, in turn, by panels with geometric patterns framed by guilloche bands, which are at some points interlaced from one panel frame to another (Fig. 1).¹³

II

The date of the Socrates mosaic cannot be determined from the scanty data gained in the excavation. The mosaic must be earlier than the sixth-century Christian church, under the floor of which it was found, but for more precise information we must rely on the decorative borders, which can be dated by comparisons with other mosaics. We can use for this purpose not only the Socrates mosaic but also the Kallos and the Therapenides mosaics, as all three belonged to the same floor. The ornamental borders of the Kallos mosaics include the same small turrets as the Socrates mosaic. The Kallos mosaic and the Therapenides mosaic display also the so-called "twisted ribbon" pattern (*Bull. Brux.* xii, 1940, p. 10, fig. 11 and x, 1938, p. 101, fig. 3). The Therapenides mosaic has as immediate frame a sequence of circles and ovals filled with geometric patterns resembling those in the panels around the Socrates mosaic.

The development of the leaf-pattern can be traced in the mosaics of Antioch-on-the-Orontes.¹⁴ In this sequence, the Socrates mosaic finds its place between the pattern of the mosaic of Pegasus and the Muses ("House of the Boat of Psyche," late third or early fourth century A.D.)¹⁵ and the mosaic of Soteria ("Bath of Apolausis," late fourth century A.D.).¹⁶

This result is confirmed by the twisted ribbon ornament seen on the Kallos and Therapenides mosaics. The Apamean borders stand between the border of the Hermes mosaic (Bath D, about 340 A.D.) and the Soteria (late fourth century) mosaic.¹⁷

Additional confirmation is provided by the use of squares similar to those of the Socrates mosaic in the floor of the church in Kaoussie, dated by an inscription in 387 A.D.¹⁸ The study of ornament then indicates a date in the third quarter of the fourth century for the Socrates mosaic of Apamea. It is quite possible that it was made in the time of the Emperor Julian who sojourned in Antioch in 362 and 363 A.D.; it is virtually certain that the mosaic was made during the lifetime of Libanius (314-395), whose literary productions provide so many insights into the life of the educated pagans in Syria at that time.

III

We have based our dating of the Socrates mosaic on the study of the ornamental setting rather than on the style of the figure panel, because the ornamental panels provide a much more reliable criterion. The mosaicists used the same ornamental settings with mosaics of all kinds. These ornamental patterns were local workshop patterns and changed with the changes of local taste. The figurative compositions, on the other hand, were often copied from famous pictures or manuscript illustrations of much earlier times. Thus we are compelled to inquire in each case, whether the design is a copy of an earlier composition: and if it is a copy, how much of it is faithfully copied and how much of it changed by the executing mosaicist.

In the case of the Socrates mosaic, this question cannot be answered with precision. There is, to my knowledge, no other copy extant, which would show Socrates with six philosophers in this particular compositional arrangement, nor, indeed, any other design showing Socrates in one panel with six seated sages. The general habits of the Syrian mosaicists incline one to assume that the mosaic is to some degree inspired by earlier compositions,¹⁹ but we must consult other designs depicting assemblies of sages, if we propose to ascertain whether the Socrates mosaic is based on an earlier picture.

The most instructive comparisons for this purpose are to be found in those representations which are concerned with the learned disputation of the Seven Sages. These statesmen and thinkers of archaic Greece had awakened awe and wonder among their contemporaries and had soon become revered, almost legendary, figures, credited with much gnomic wisdom. We do not know who grouped them in a canon of seven. In extant literature, it is first quoted by Plato (*Protagoras* 343 A) in terms which may imply that the "hebdomad" was known before.²⁰ Henceforth, even though the names varied, the number of

seven, so popular in religion, numeral speculation, and folklore, remained constant. The Seven Sages continued to enjoy popularity in Hellenistic and Roman times — for who but the most popular personalities would be chosen to adorn the walls of a tavern in Ostia? ²¹

It is generally agreed that a group of Seven Sages was illustrated in Varro's *Hebdomades* or *Imagines* compiled between 44 and 39 B.C.²² The book contained a discussion of the Seven Sages²³ and apparently each set of seven famous men was illustrated.²⁴ It has been suggested that those illustrations which represented notable Greeks were copied from Hellenistic manuscript illustrations. It is quite possible that the popularity of "hebdomadic" groups in Roman art was due to the influence of Varro's book, but we have no evidence to prove any direct connection between the Varronic illustrations and the group of seven philosophers on the mosaic of Apamea.

Fortunately, we need not rely on such speculations, however attractive they may seem. For a Roman mosaic of the first century A.D. from Torre Annunziata and another Roman mosaic of the second century A.D. from Sarsina have long been shown to be copies of a Hellenistic picture of the Seven Sages.²⁵ In both mosaics the sages are grouped in the pattern of a pyramid of which the apex recedes into the background. Three of the sages are standing, two at the ends of the group, one in its center. The other four disputants are seated on a semicircular bench, an *exedra*. In front of the assembly we behold a celestial sphere which is being explained by one of the sages, tentatively identified as Thales.²⁶ The two mosaics differ somewhat in the postures, gestures, and attributes of the participants in the *dotta conversazione*, and Elderkin rightly observes that on the mosaic of the second century A.D. "the artist has monotonously concentrated the attention of the philosophers upon the celestial sphere" in contrast to their "diversified attention" on the mosaic of the first century A.D. Compared with the Apamea mosaic (Fig. 1), however, both mosaics of the Seven Sages show a strong insistence upon the importance of the individual figures and actions and a free grouping of plastic three-dimensional figures in a rather spacious setting embellished with elements of landscape and architecture entirely absent in the Socrates composition. Neither the immediate models of these mosaics, nor the Hellenistic picture from which they were drawn can, therefore, qualify as probable models for the Socrates mosaic.²⁷

A gem formerly in the Demidoff Collection (Fig. 3) appears to be derived from the same model as the Roman mosaics of Torre An-

nunziata and Sarsina,²⁸ as the celestial sphere is again the focal point for the group of the Seven Sages. In composition, however, the gem shows a decisive change. The leader of the discussion who in the mosaics stood at the right end of the group, has been shifted to the center. The other sages, now all seated on the bench, are brought closely together, three on each side. They are arranged in vertical overlap so that the resultant design of each side resembles a projecting wing. Von Salis has proposed to call this type of group design a "horseshoe" design.²⁹

This change toward a mass-like, geometric arrangement is not an accidental occurrence. It is part and parcel of the change from the earlier to the later phase of Roman art and has been investigated in detail for those groups in which the seated Emperor surrounded by personifications and officials accepts surrenders, bestows benefactions, or witnesses various spectacles. These dated Imperial monuments indicate that the change was taking place from the late Antonine period on and became very marked during the third century.³⁰ Accordingly, we must assign the Demidoff gem a date not earlier than the late second century A.D.³¹ Confirmation of this dating is provided by a Roman catacomb painting of the third century A.D. (Fig. 4),³² in which Christ instructing six apostles is seen in a composition strikingly reminiscent of the design of the Demidoff gem.

The gem shows so many features which reappear in the Socrates mosaic of Apamea that we must postulate a connection. I believe that we can best explain their resemblance, if we assume that the mosaic was copied after a picture of the third century which showed the same type of design as the gem with the Seven Sages.³³

Assuming that the Socrates mosaic is a copy of a third-century painting, we may now reiterate the question posed in the beginning of this section: if the mosaic is a copy, how far is it a faithful copy? The answer can be obtained only by comparing the mosaic of Apamea with similar groups created by the artists of the fourth century A.D. If we find stylistic traits of the fourth century reappearing in the mosaic, it will become probable that the artist or the designer of the mosaic has made changes in his model.

No representations of the Seven Sages as a group of full-length figures are known from that period, but the group of Christ with six apostles which we have already encountered in Early Christian art of the third century continued to be represented by Christian artists after the Peace of the Church. Some of their creations share with the Apamea mosaic the curious flattening of the originally semi-

circular group, a process which applies to the seat or bench as well as to the figures. A wall painting from the Maius Catacomb in the Coemeterium Jordanorum (Fig. 6), painted about 340 A.D.,³⁴ illustrates much the same stage in this development as the Socrates mosaic. The row of figures is flattened, but the figures themselves retain a certain amount of corporeal existence. Neither group has yet attained the frontal linearism of Christ and six apostles that characterizes a terracotta plaque in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection dated about 400 A.D. (Fig. 7).³⁵

From these comparisons we may conclude that if the artist of the Socratès mosaic had a model, this model was certainly reshaped in the taste of his own time, and we see that not only the ornament but also the figurative panel are consonant with a date between 350 A.D. and 400 A.D.

IV

We have so far evaded the interpretation of the Apamea mosaic and we must now attempt to ascertain the purpose of this gathering and the identity of the participants in the philosophic assembly.

Socrates is fortunately identified by an inscription. Fortunately, because it has been said that he bears little resemblance to any of his known portraits.³⁶ It is true that he does not resemble the best copies of the types known in sculpture and attributed to Silanion³⁷ and Lysippus respectively,³⁸ but we must remember that besides and beyond actual portraits, there may also exist what we may term a "popular" image. Just as a certain kind of moustache is sufficient identification for portrayal of certain statesmen in our days, thus in late Roman times a bald head and irregular features were apparently sufficient to identify Socrates. The head of the Apamean Socrates (Fig. 2) is not unlike some of these popular images in sculpture and mosaic.³⁹

The interpretation of the other six philosophers depends on the assumptions which we make about the occasion. There are two possibilities: if the artist was proceeding on a purely general and symbolic basis, he may have combined Socrates with sages of old, who have preceded him; if he was thinking in more historical terms, then the group represents Socrates with six of his famous students.

We cannot rule out the first possibility altogether. Late Roman art abounds in examples of sets of sages, philosophers, literary figures, and inventors drawn together in combinations based purely on their fame.⁴⁰ Thus Socrates might well be shown with those sages whom we

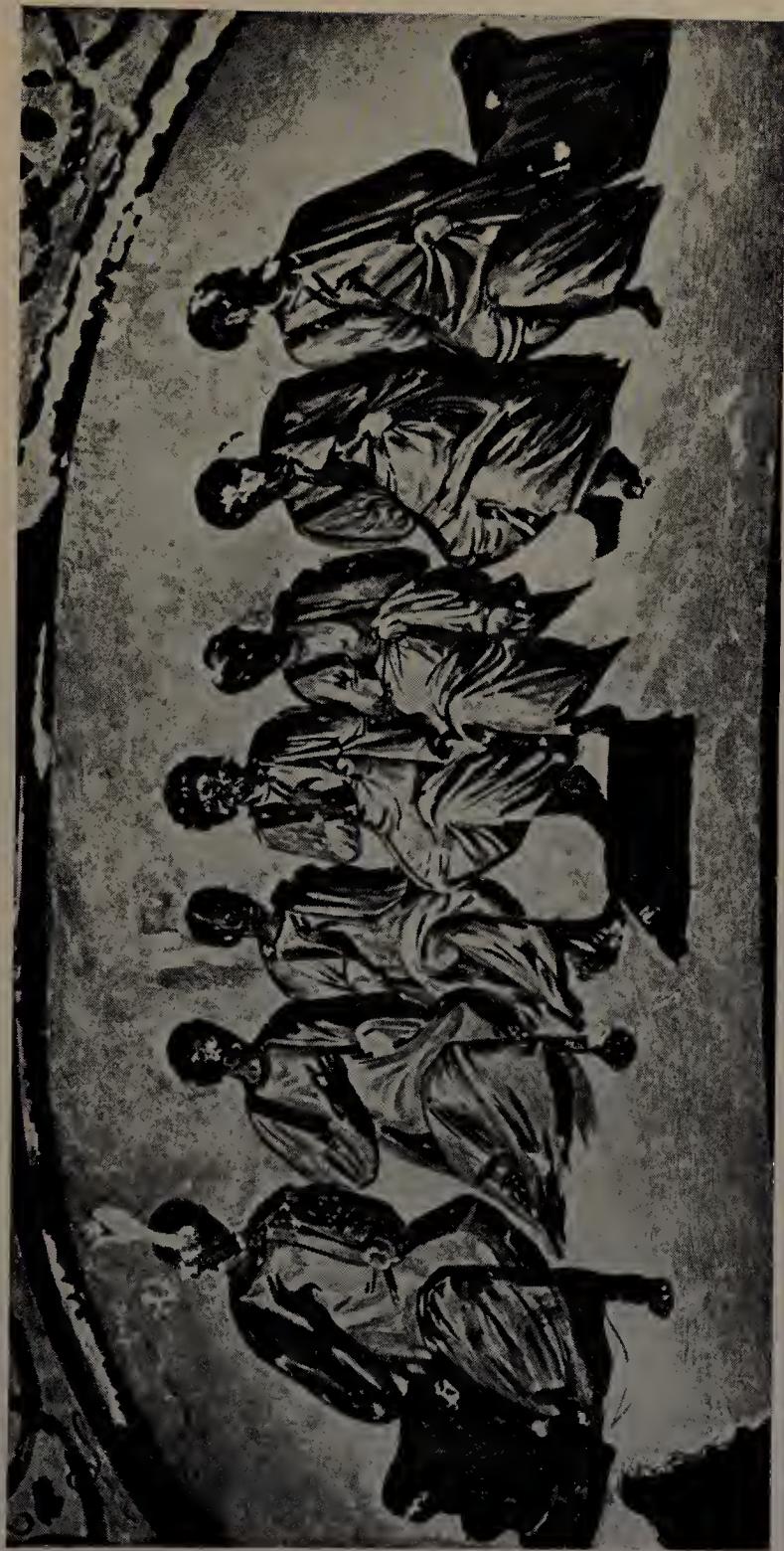


FIG. 6. Christ and Six Disciples. Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna. After G. Wilpert,
Le pitture delle Catacombe, pl. 170



FIG. 7. Christ and Six Disciples. Terracotta plaque. Dumbarton Oaks Collection of Harvard University, 46.13. By permission of the Director, Dumbarton Oaks Collection

call "Pre-Socratic" and whose studies of nature he had surpassed by his study of man.⁴¹ Or again, he may be represented as the "Delphic" Socrates proclaimed the wisest of men by the Pythia and thus legitimately conceived as the Seventh and wisest of the Seven Sages.⁴² It is true that none of the numerous combinations of Seven Sages known in literary tradition appears to include Socrates; but his bust is added to those of the Seven Sages on the mosaic from Baalbek⁴³ and combined with some of the Seven Sages in other representations of late Roman art.⁴⁴ Furthermore, we obtain in this manner a ready explanation for the resemblance between the gem with the Seven Sages and the Apamea mosaic. Change the thoughtful Thales to the teaching Socrates and the transformation is complete.

Nevertheless, I believe, that the second interpretation, which envisages Socrates as a Scholarch instructing six Socratics is the right one. In literary tradition, the fame of Socrates rests on his teaching and on the fame of his disciples, and the composition itself is much more naturally viewed as "historical" in the sense that the participants could have gathered for an actual discussion, just as the Seven Sages were thought to have come together to exchange their wise sayings.⁴⁵ It should be noted, too, that on those other mosaics, where sages and literati are combined according to their repute, each of the famous men is usually placed in a panel or medallion by himself.⁴⁶

The artist has failed to provide any clue that would point to a definite episode in the life of Socrates. In Plato's *Symposium* we find seven speakers, including Socrates.⁴⁷ But ancient artists never fail to record the proper equipment for a symposium and always show the participants reclining, even if the participants are allegorical figures, as, for example, Past, Present, and Future in a mosaic at Antioch.⁴⁸ If a symposium as famous and convivial as that of Socrates were to be represented, surely the situation would have been made clear. Similar objections apply to any attempt to interpret the scene as that other famous moment in the life of Socrates, his discourse on immortality which he gave in prison before his death and which was described in Plato's *Phaedo*.⁴⁹ One would expect that the prison should be indicated, as it was in Pompeian paintings showing Pero feeding her father Micon;⁵⁰ and certainly no ancient artist would strain the credulity of spectators by placing a marble exedra in prison.⁵¹ It seems, then, that the mosaicist envisaged a representation of teaching as an activity typical of Socrates rather than any particular event of the Socratic *bios*.

But what of the six bearded listeners? Can these mature and

dignified personages be those youths with whom Socrates habitually conversed? Here we must take into account the very definite notions which late Roman artists entertained about the appearance of philosophers. Philosophers as a rule are distinguished by their cloaks and their beards⁵² and Libanius, quite apart from his rhetorical purpose, may be influenced by this notion when he describes the students of Socrates as *andres gerontes*.⁵³

The identification of the individual Socratics is a more difficult matter. One should expect a popular "canon" of seven, similar to the canonic number of seven dramatists,⁵⁴ to have guided the selection made by the painter. Such "canonic" lists of Socratics did exist, but not with the number of philosophers that would fit the mosaic. Thus Diogenes Laertius names Plato, Xenophon, and Antisthenes as the most distinguished students of Socrates, and then mentions a traditional canon of ten, among whom he singles out Aeschines, Phaedo, Euclid, and Aristippus.⁵⁵ In absence of a suitable list in the literary sources, we can attempt to identify some of the participants on iconographic grounds. It seems to me that the late Roman copies of the portrait of Plato (Fig. 5) in which the philosopher is portrayed with closely cropped hair and short locks combed down over the forehead⁵⁶ may well be compared with the second of the philosophers in the right "wing" of the group in the mosaic. The Cynic Antisthenes might be represented by one of the two philosophers with unkempt beards,⁵⁷ that to the right of Socrates or that in the middle of the left "wing" (Fig. 1). Finally, the elegant and well-groomed gentleman to the left of Socrates might qualify as Aristippus, the apostle of pleasure.⁵⁸ Beyond such conjectures we cannot go, but I should guess that all of the sages assembled in the group were philosophers and scientists rather than men of action — there is no Alcibiades among them.

V

Although the mosaic of Apamea is of great interest for the history of late Roman art and late Roman culture in Syria, its truly significant aspect lies in its striking resemblance to the Early Christian representations of Christ with six apostles to which we have briefly alluded before (*supra*, p. 211). This resemblance goes beyond the similarity of composition. The mosaic agrees with the Early Christian monuments in the "teaching" gesture of the central figure — precisely the feature in which it differs from the gem, where Thales thoughtfully supports his head on his hand (compare Figs. 1, 4, 6, 7

and Fig. 3). Furthermore, the "thinker" gesture is used in the mosaic as well as in the Early Christian paintings for one of the disciples.⁵⁹ If we compare a relatively detailed Christian picture, such as the painting from the Maius Catacomb (Fig. 6), it is difficult to escape the impression that the group of the Lord as a Teacher is modelled on the same composition as the mosaic of Apamea.

That Christ should instruct only six of the disciples is contrary to all canonic tradition and it has long been surmised that a pagan group involving seven participants was taken over "literally" by the Early Christian artists. Several scholars have commented on the gem with the Seven Sages (Fig. 3) in this connection and it was considered probable that a group symbolic of philosophic wisdom of paganism was turned into the group that represented the new, the true, the Christian philosophy.⁶⁰

In the following pages, I propose to show that Socrates and his disciples have a better claim to have served for Early Christian artists as a model of the group of Christ with six apostles than the Seven Sages, not only because of the greater visual resemblance displayed by the mosaic of Apamea and the Early Christian representations, but also because Socrates was an important figure in the discussions of philosophy and Christianity which preceded the triumph of Christianity under Constantine.

Early Christianity had ignored Socrates. But when the Church was compelled to face squarely the crucial test of refusing homage to the Imperial images, Christian apologists bethought themselves of the similarity between their attitude and that of Socrates. Justin (who died in 166 A.D.) eloquently develops this argument in his *Apology* addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius and his sons.⁶¹

Since of old . . . evil demons . . . both defiled women and corrupted boys . . . , those who did not use their reason . . . were struck with terror . . . and called them gods. And when Socrates endeavored, by true reason and examination to bring these things to light and deliver men from the demons . . . then the demons themselves, by means of men who rejoiced in iniquity, . . . compassed his death, as an atheist and a profane person, on the charge that he was introducing new divinities. And in our case they display a similar activity. For not only among the Greeks did *Logos* prevail to condemn these things through Socrates, but also among the barbarians were they condemned by *Logos* Himself who took shape, and became man, and was called Jesus Christ.⁶²

The tenth chapter of Justin's Second *Apology* also insists on Christianity as teaching, the same aspect which is emphasized by the representation of Christ as Teacher in art:

Our doctrine then, appears to be greater than all human teaching. Those who by human birth were more ancient than Christ, when they attempted to consider and prove things by *Logos* (Reason) were brought before the tribunal. . . And Socrates, who was more zealous in this direction than all of them, was accused of the very same crimes as ourselves. But he cast out from the state both Homer and the rest of the poets and taught men to reject the wicked demons and exhorted them to become acquainted with the God who was unknown to them . . . saying that it is neither easy to find the Father and Maker of all, nor having found Him, is it safe to declare Him to all [twisted quotation from Plato, *Timaeus* 28 C]. But these things our Christ did through His own power. For no one trusted in Socrates so as to die for his doctrine, but in Christ, who was partially known even by Socrates . . . not only philosophers and scholars believed, but also artisans and people entirely uneducated.

According to Justin, those who lived before Christ "within the Word" are not condemned; they are Christians, even though they had been considered atheists "as among the Greeks Socrates and Heraclitus" (*Apol.* I, 46).

Justin had been a professional "philosopher" and had disputed with philosophers.⁶³ His attitude toward Socrates has the enthusiasm of a discoverer; but for all the lack of philosophy in a deeper sense, his conception of Socrates is head-and-shoulders above such undigested collections of teachings and anecdotes as those compiled for the use of educated pagans by Diogenes Laertius.

In any case, the parallel of Socrates and Christ made an impression. The comparison seems to have spread into popular moralizing preaching. We possess a curious testimony to this popularization from the Eastern frontiers of Greek culture. A certain Mara bar Sarapion from Samosata on the Euphrates having been imprisoned wrote an exhortatory letter to his son in which he quotes Pythagoras, Socrates, and "the wise King of Jews" as famous sages who were unjustly put to death by their peoples. God took revenge for their deaths, but the sages achieved immortality, Socrates in Plato and Christ in his new laws. It is disputed whether the author was a "popular" Stoic with remarkable propensity for Christianity or a camouflaged Christian (cf. *CAH* XII, Ch. xiv, ii on Syriac Christianity and p. 490, on Paul of Samosata). As his curious blunders show,

he was not a Lucian, and it is not certain that he knew Greek. A comparison used by him must have been well-known.⁶⁴

On a higher intellectual level, the parallel of Socrates and Christ became part of the heated argument about the claim of Christianity to figure as a moral philosophy.⁶⁵ On the pagan side, Marcus Aurelius (who could have read Justin) states that the similarity is only apparent, the Christians being fanatic, whereas Socrates was serious and superior.⁶⁶ Celsus (in his *True Logos*) argues in a similar vein; he acknowledges some resemblance in ethics but also suggests for the first time that Christ had studied Plato.⁶⁷ On the Christian side, Clement of Alexandria and Origen⁶⁸ give considerable thought to the analogy of Socrates and Christ. Finally, Tertullian provides good evidence for the importance which attached to Socrates as a symbol of the tendency to compare philosophy and Christianity. Although his actual concern is with other doctrines, he opens his attack on philosophy with a violent charge against Socrates.⁶⁹ Clearly, the period between the death of Justin (166 A.D.) and the death of Origen (253 A.D.) was the time when the thought of Christianity as a philosophy and of philosophers as proto-Christians was particularly provoking to some and exciting to others, a period in which philosophy was still a dangerous competitor of Christianity for the minds and souls of the educated class, a period in which the popular figure of Socrates loomed large.

Thus an investigation of the intellectual climate lends probability to the suggestion we have made on purely stylistic grounds (p. 215, *supra*). At some time during the third century, some Christian artist, whose views on Socrates may have resembled those of Justin, adopted the composition portraying Socrates and his disciples and thus established a type for the portrayal of Christ as the Teacher of Truth, a type that was to evolve into some of the most majestic compositions of Early Christian art.⁷⁰ The picture which he adapted was presumably similar to that which served as the model for the mosaic of Apamea. If this hypothesis is right, we have here another illustration of that vital part which philosophy played in the transformation of Christian thought and Christian art and which is reflected in the portrayals of Christ in the likeness of a philosopher and the devout Christian as a philosophic sage.⁷¹

It would be interesting to know in what environment such adaptations might have first been made. One thinks immediately of two famous passages referring to juxtapositions of images of Christ with those of pagan philosophers. The first, of which the authenticity is not

beyond dispute, refers to the Lararium of the Emperor Alexander Severus (*Hist. Aug.*, Alexander Severus, 29), which is said to have harbored the likenesses of Apollonius of Tyana, Christus, Abraham, Orpheus, and the best of the deified Emperors. The other describes an alleged practice of the Gnostic sect of Carpocratians, apparently at the beginning of the third century A.D. They, who regarded Christ only as a great man similar to the great philosophers, "set forth (*proponunt*) images of Christ together with the images of the philosophers of the world (*mundi philosophorum*), that is, with the images of Pythagoras and Plato and Aristotle and the rest."⁷² It would be far-fetched to argue on the basis of these passages that the artist who first adapted the group of Socrates and his disciples for a representation of Christ and six apostles was a Carpocratian, or that he was active at the court of Alexander Severus; these references do indicate, however, that under certain conditions pictures of Socrates and pictures of Christ might have been brought together by some Roman who saw in both great moral leaders of humanity.

One aspect of the catacomb pictures remains puzzling — the specific motivation of the use of the Teacher with six disciples in sepulchral imagery. The meaning does not appear to be the same as in the later "Imperial" compositions in which Christ is shown with the Twelve in a manner reminiscent of the Emperor as Cosmocrator; ⁷³ the appearance of the word *Victoria* inscribed on the Barberini plaque is probably due to this Imperial imagery, which also appears reflected in the acclaiming throngs placed under the group of seven by the sculptor of the plaque.⁷⁴ This mood presupposes the triumph of the Church, whereas the catacomb art of the third century is dominated by the notion of salvation of the elect. One might say that if miracles such as the Raising of Lazarus represented the promise of salvation through concrete act, the group of the Teacher and His Disciples carried the promise of salvation by the New Law — those who are His disciples will be saved.⁷⁵ It has even been suggested that the representation implied an assimilation of the deceased Christians buried in the catacomb to the apostles, an implication certainly present in the burial of Constantine in the Church of Holy Apostles.⁷⁶

Explanation along this line is probably correct, but it fails to account for the "hebdomadic" character of the group. I think there is a further possibility, which would account for the inclusion of the seven. Socrates and the Seven Sages were occasionally conceived in pagan sepulchral art as symbols of "intellectual immortality."⁷⁷ If the artist was really learned and interested in Socrates, he may

have been aware of statements analogous to that made by Themistius upon the death of his father: "after you have been received by good spirits (*daimones*) . . . they will seat you at the side of Socrates and Plato."⁷⁸ In this case, the presence of Socrates (and possibly Plato) would have been a decisive factor — not Socrates and Plato, but Christ and his disciples are those whom the pious Christian will join upon his release from earthly life. If, however, he was only aware of the general symbolism of "intellectual immortality" attaching to groups of philosophers and sages, his decision might be conceived as analogous to the use of the Good Shepherd, Orpheus, and pagan idyllic scenes in the art of the Catacombs.⁷⁹ He copied a pagan art-type, which had a certain affinity of content, with the understanding that it would be "read" as a Christian symbol (rather than a Christian illustration of the Scriptures) by the faithful: a teacher and six disciples standing for Christ revealing the way of salvation to the apostles. In this case, the reasons for choosing the Socrates group might have been partly iconographic and partly intellectual. The group of Socrates dominated by his "teaching gesture" seemed closest to the requirements of a group which was to symbolize Christ as Teacher.

We have thus outlined some of the possibilities which may have led to the adoption of the Socrates group in Early Christian art — Socrates as Proto-Christian; Socrates as symbol of an immortality inferior to that bestowed by Christ; and Socrates and Socratics as the art-type best suited to symbolize Christ as Teacher — any one or all three of these motives might have brought about the development which we have surveyed.

VI

There is much that must remain tentative in any appraisal of the connections linking the Socrates mosaic with Early Christian art. The mosaic, however, has a value which is quite independent of this relationship. As a monument of its own time, it affords interesting evidence for the culture of Syria in the fourth century A.D. and proves the continued popularity of Socrates among the educated pagans of that period.

A Seleucid foundation, Apamea always lived in the shadow of the great cosmopolitan capital of Antioch, a city probably five times larger than Apamea.⁸⁰ As far as one can judge from the excavations, its culture in the late Roman period was tinged just as strongly as that of Antioch by the desire for Hellenic culture and education, a

desire so strikingly revealed in the mosaics of Antioch.⁸¹ This love of Hellenism is perhaps a trifle self-conscious; nowhere else do we find so many explanatory Greek inscriptions as on the Antiochene mosaics; the contrast of urban Greek and rural Syriac, not to mention a number of other tongues spoken along the caravan roads, may have kept alive a special emphasis on Greek education.

Although hardly a traditional center of letters, Apamea must have had a public for philosophy and letters in the late Roman period. Under the Emperor Caracalla, the estimable writer of the *Cynegetica* (Pseudo-Oppian) professes himself a native son and gives a vivid description of the location of the city.⁸² His was an active life; but those interested in the *vita contemplativa* were not lacking. We have no proof that the philosopher Numenius, always described as an Apamean, actually taught at Apamea; but there is no proof that he taught anywhere else. Pythagorean and Platonist, a man who saw in Socrates the representative of the true meaning of Plato and in Plato the mediator between Pythagoras and Socrates, a man who described Plato as an Atticizing Moses and who allegedly referred in one of his books to the "history of Christ," he was a significant figure in the intellectual currents which preceded the rise of Neo-Platonism.⁸³ And some continuity in the intellectual climate of Apamea might be inferred from the arrival of Amelius (269 A.D.), a faithful student of Plotinus and an authority on the work of Numenius.⁸⁴ Against such background, a regular school of Apamea arose in the fourth century A.D. Libanius speaks of a circle of philosophers which was active there before his time. The passage mentions the "god-like" leader of this circle — apparently Iamblichus, the famed successor to Porphyry as head of the Neo-Platonist school (250–325 A.D.). According to Bidez, Iamblichus taught at Apamea for many years, charming all with his social grace and inspired discourses. He was worshipped by his pupils, who were in constant attendance upon the master and saw in him the saviour of Hellenism. Not only the obscure mysteries of Neo-Platonism were taught; Iamblichus was also interested in literary and rhetorical studies and there is even some evidence for the study of natural science.⁸⁵ Another member of this circle, Sopatrus (the first) of Apamea, had presumably studied at Apamea before he went to the court of Constantine in Constantinople, where he came to a grievous end under accusation of magic.⁸⁶ A third enthusiastic disciple was that "Pseudo-Julian," whose letters were mistakenly included in a collection of letters written by Julian. In some degree, the tradition was upheld by a second Sopatrus, prob-

ably son of the first; he may well represent the type of patron for whom mosaics such as the Socrates mosaic were made. Brother-in-law of the famous professor of rhetoric Himerius and uncle of the younger Iamblichus, he composed philosophical writings, and in 361 A.D. attempted to establish Olympic games in Apamea.⁸⁷ Bidez suggests that a program of consciously Hellenic opposition to Christianity was developing in this milieu and that Julian's anti-Christian attitude was anticipated in this school of Apamea. There may be a connection between the existence of such a vigorous center of pro-Hellenic propaganda and the tenacious opposition offered somewhat later (about 400 A.D.) by the pagans of Apamea to the Christian assault upon the temples.⁸⁸

We are probably justified in regarding the two new Socrates mosaics — that of Apamea and that of Heliopolis (Baalbek) ⁸⁹ — as expressing ideas of the pagan wing of the Syrian intelligentsia. It is more difficult to ascertain the exact significance of the message which these mosaics carried to their owners. The belief in the beneficial powers of great philosophers, sages, and statesmen was probably the least common denominator agreed upon by the religious philosophers as well as by teachers of culture and eloquence.⁹⁰ We have seen that Libanius interprets the *daimonion* of Socrates as a kind of immortal demon, while Ammianus Marcellinus, native and ofttime resident of Antioch, names Socrates, together with Pythagoras, Numa, Scipio, Augustus, Hermes Trismegistus, Apollonius of Tyana, and Plotinus as examples of men guided by particularly powerful spirits.⁹¹ Beyond such general reverence, Socrates and Plato and Socrates and Pythagoras continued to serve as popular symbols of pagan wisdom.⁹²

It is not too clear how far we can credit the leading Neo-Platonists with a special interest in Socrates. On the whole, they seem to have preferred Plato and Plotinus (or, as Julian, Iamblichus, and, among those past, Diogenes) to Socrates; with the triumph of the church Socrates had also lost much of his importance for the Christian writers.⁹³ On the other hand, the owner of the mosaic in Baalbek professes himself a Platonist; the mosaic seems to reflect a historical approach somewhat parallel to Porphyry's *History of Philosophy* — the Seven Sages, the *Physikoi*, the Socratics are the truly wise, Socrates the wisest ⁹⁴ — but it can also be interpreted as an affirmation of that united front of sages of the past which was preached by Iamblichus. Neither in the Baalbek mosaic nor in the Apamea mosaic do we find any hints of theurgy, superstition, or the wisdom of the East. The mosaic of Apamea emphasizes the spiritual communion of the

circle of philosophers who are being inspired by a great leader. In its emotional intensity it recalls the enthusiastic descriptions of the inspiring power of great teachers given by Julian and his contemporaries. Such a group might equally well symbolize the Neo-Platonist ideal of a society culminating in a communion of sages⁹⁵ or the less specific hope of an intellectual for "Socratic immortality." The other mosaics of the room (*Kallos* and *Therapenides*) may perhaps serve as indications that the planner of this program was concerned with the aesthetic and intellectual rather than the occult and religious aspects of the Hellenic tradition. He may have been a *Platonikos*, he may have studied with an Iamblichus or a Sopatrus; but he learned from them the literary and philosophical Hellenism, and not Chaldaean miracles.

Was the picture of Socrates and his school intended to be understood as a portrayal of the true Hellenic prophet and teacher shown in purposeful contrast to the absurd and lowly Galilean? Porphyry had perhaps intended his literary portrait of Socrates as a polemic against the adoration of Christ. Polemic comparisons are found in Julian and in that "Pseudo-Julian" who had studied in Apamea — there is nothing that Christ did that Asclepius could not do better.⁹⁶ A contrast of Socrates and Christ could not come as a very strange thought to a convinced Hellenist brought up in Apamea. Thoughts of this kind may have been in the mind of the man who ordered the Socrates mosaic. There is a certain similarity of mood in the Socrates mosaic and the Christian pictures of Christ as Teacher; but this similarity results from a similarity of models and a similarity of attitudes toward teacher and teaching — a devotional reverence which uplifted sages, saints, and divines above the common lot of mortality and saw philosophy as revelation rather than philosophy as reason.

The Socrates mosaic of Apamea is but one of the recent additions to the rapidly growing store of archaeological material which throws light on the culture of Syria during the crucial period of transition from the late Roman to the early Byzantine world.⁹⁷ Like the writings of a Libanius, a Himerius, and a John Chrysostomus, the mosaics of Antioch and Apamea reveal the all-pervasive power of that Greek education which served alike the last champions of paganism and the first Christian humanists.⁹⁸ The arts of this strange Hellenic Syria are perhaps often too literate and its letters often too artistic; but despite all obvious shortcomings they remain of absorbing interest to us as eloquent witnesses of the historic process which was defining the fate of the Greek tradition.

The story of Socrates in art does not end in Apamea; medieval and Byzantine paintings and illustrations bring proof of revivals of his popularity;⁹⁹ but I must leave the investigation of these revivals in art, of their intellectual background, and of their relations to antiquity to those qualified to interpret them with real authority.

NOTES

1. *Bulletin des Musées Royaux de Bruxelles* (abbreviated in this article as *Bull. Brux.*) Ser. III, vol. XII, Jan. 1940, pp. 10 f. and vol. X, p. 98. The Therapenides mosaic, however, is said to have appeared "about one meter" below the level of the church. The sixth century date of the East Basilica is confirmed by the similarity of the animal groups on its mosaics (with "humped" outlines of animals) and those of the church of Dair Solaib, dated 604 A.D., and Kabr Hiram, dated 575 A.D. Cf. *Mélanges Univ. St. Joseph Beyrouth* XII (1939), pp. 20 ff., pl. 14 and *Annales archéologiques* XXIII (1863), p. 278 and pl. 22.

2. Another group of mosaics, including a Dionysiac head and fragments of a mosaic with amorini came to light near the center of the church. The amorini mosaic has apparently not been published. For the Dionysiac bust cf. *Bull. Brux.* X, p. 99, fig. 4. It resembles busts found on mosaics of the late third and early fourth century A.D. Cf. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* II, pl. 48, no. 65, of the third century, the mosaic from the Constantinian villa, *ibid.*, pl. 67, Panel V, and the bust of "Dynamis," *ibid.*, pl. 63, no. 87, Panel J.

3. I am indebted to Mlle V. Verhoogen, Conservatrice Adjointe of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, for a photograph of the Socrates mosaic and for valuable information concerning the excavation. It appears that the notes on the field work at Apamea were destroyed during the bombing of Louvain in 1944, but that the plans, photographs, and drawings have survived. I should also like to thank Professor Marcel Renard for transmitting my inquiry to the authorities of the Musées Royaux.

4. For the vista with colonnades cf. the wall paintings of Boscoreale, E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, 1923, fig. 707 and the Medea picture, Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, 1929, fig. 493. For the placing of the wall in the background compare the Aldobrandini Wedding, *ibid.*, fig. 531. The Chresis mosaic of Antioch, *Antioch* II, pl. 60, no. 84, shows similar relation of figures, background wall, and receding colonnade. The general relation of the figures to architecture appears similar on the mosaic, *Antioch* III, p. 11, pl. 49, no. 107 A, of the third century A.D.

5. *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* IV, p. 457, fragm. 4.

6. Cumont's interpretation does not explain the emphatic caption "Therapenides" inscribed on the mosaic; "Moisai" would be much more appropriate. Furthermore, according to the story, the Muses should be making music; the Therapenides dance. Finally, the distinctive number of Muses is nine, but there are only six Therapenides.

7. G. H. Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America*, fig. 47. L. D. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, pp. 33 f., with literature.

8. The man who caused his house in Baalbek to be paved with a mosaic of Socrates and the Sages calls himself *Platonikos* in the inscription. *Vide infra*

p. 228, n. 43. Theon of Smyrna is described as *Platonikos philosophos* in the inscription on his bust. K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner, und Denker*, 1943, p. 180, fig. 3. For Apuleius as *philosophus Platonicus*, cf. A. D. Nock, *CAH* XII, p. 440.

9. See, for example, the seated statues of Hermarchus and Metrodorus, Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 121, figs. 2 and 4, or the Roman representations of Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Hippocrates, *ibid.*, p. 173, figs. 16, 20, 25. The gesture of teaching in which two fingers are raised vertically is discussed by H. P. L'Orange, *Keisernen på Himmeltronen*, Dreyer, 1949, p. 160, figs. 110-144, 122.

10. Socrates is similarly attired in the marble figure in the British Museum. Schefold, p. 84, with photograph, p. 206, with bibliography. According to Schefold this figurine is an Antonine copy after the bronze statue made by Lysippus for the Pompeion in Athens.

11. The cloak is the *palium* (himation) worn habitually by philosophers. Both ways of wearing it seen in the Apamea mosaic were already in fashion during the Classic Age of Greece. Borders similar to those of the cloaks in the Apamea mosaic were also used in Classic Greek costumes. Cf. G. Leroux, in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. ant.* IV (no date), p. 288, figs. 5461 and 5469.

12. There is an interesting point involved. One of the best-known features of Socrates was that he did not write. Cf. A. D. Nock, *AJA* L (1946), p. 154, quoting Galen, *In Hippocr. de Nat. Hom.* XV, 68. On the scroll as a literary attribute cf. H. I. Marrou, *Mousikos Aner*, Grenoble, 1937, pp. 191 ff., with references.

13. Beside the left leg of the philosopher on the left (fig. 1) is seen a sign resembling the letter *H*, Eta; on the extreme right of the mosaic, appears another sign resembling the letter *N*, Nu. They are quite different from the letters of the inscription around the head of Socrates. As I have not seen the mosaic, I cannot say whether they were, in fact, intended as letters.

14. The mosaics of Antioch-on-the-Orontes are published in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* I, Publications of the Committee for the Excavation of Antioch, 1932, II, 1938, and III, 1941, abbreviated in this article as *Antioch* I, II, and III, and in D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 1947, abbreviated as "Levi."

In the early group each bunch consists of three leaves plus two small offshoots, all delicately shaped. To this group belong the following mosaics:

1. Medallion with portrait of the famous athlete Nikostratos Aigaios. Early third century A.D. *Antioch* II, no. 174, A-E, pl. 84 (Seleucia 19-J). Levi, pp. 115 ff., 625, pl. 19, figs. b and d ("House of the Porticoes").

2. Border of the Ganymede and Narcissus mosaics. Early third century A.D. *Antioch* III, no. 107 A, pl. 49.

3. Iphigenia Mosaic. Early third century A.D. *Antioch* III, no. 107 A, pl. 49, House 14-S. Levi, pp. 119 ff., pls. 21 f., p. 625 ("House of Iphigenia").

4. Ganymede and Narcissus mosaics. First half of the third century A.D. *Antioch* III, no. 146, pl. 71. Levi, pp. 130 ff., pl. 24, p. 625 ("House of the Buffet Supper," Lower Level).

In a middle group, the leaves of the pattern are larger and brought more closely together. This group includes the mosaic of Perseus and Andromeda and the mosaic of Pegasus and the Muses.

5. *Antioch* III, no. 163, pl. 79, Seleucia 17 F, Room 2. Levi, pp. 141 ff., 625, pls. 27 f., ("House of Dionysus and Ariadne"). Levi states that this house was abandoned in the third century.

6. Pegasus and Muses. Cf. n. 15, below.

In the late examples the pattern loses its regularity. The leaves are thick and short.

7. Soteria mosaic, cf. n. 16, below.

8. Animal scenes, from a villa abandoned in 526 A.D. Late fifth century. *Antioch II*, pl. 74, no. 92, Sect. 2.

9. Ananeosis mosaic, from an undetermined building. *Antioch III*, no. 102, pl. 46. Levi, pl. 73, pp. 320 f., 626. Late fifth or early sixth century. According to Levi, 450-475 A.D.

Leaf-pattern similar to the last mosaic occurs in the medallion of the title and in the frame of the Cheiron group in the Dioscurides Codex in Vienna (*Med. Graec.* 1) of the early sixth century. Cf. E. Dietz, *Byzantinische Denkmäler III*, 2, 1903, pp. 29 and 59, pl. 2, 1. H. Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei*, 1929, p. 20, pl. 5.

15. *Antioch III*, p. 184, no. 47, pl. 34. Room 2, Panel A. Levi, pp. 172 ff., 625, pl. 36.

16. The leaf-pattern is seen on the diadem of the bust inscribed "Soteria." *Antioch III*, no. 122, pl. 57. Levi, pp. 304 and 625, pls. 68 and 168.

17. Hermes mosaic: *Antioch II*, no. 36, pl. 27, Panel B. Sect. 2. Levi, pp. 285 ff., pl. 65, fig. b and fig. 174, 1b.

Soteria: n. 16, above.

18. *Antioch II*, pp. 55 ff., figs. 10, 23, 29, pl. 48, no. 66, Panel A. Levi, pp. 283 f., pls. 113, a and 115, a. Similar squares of the "Glass Court" mosaic of Gerasa are dated in the third quarter of the fourth century by F. M. Biebel in C. Kraeling, *Gerasa*, 1938, p. 309, pl. 58 b.

19. Practically all of the mythological mosaics depend on earlier works of art. Particularly instructive for the manner in which the mosaicists used and altered their models are the two Dionysus-Hercules mosaics of the first and the third century respectively, and the Achilles-Briseis mosaic, which abstracts the same famous original of which we have a much more extensive copy in the Pompeian wall-painting of the Casa del Poeta Tragico. Cf. C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, 1942, pp. 31, 33, figs. 22 f., and for Achilles-Briseis, Levi, pp. 46 ff., pl. 8 a, *Antioch II*, no. 70, pl. 50 with L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, 1929, p. 37, figs. 23 ff.

20. Plato names Thales, Pittacus, Bias, Solon, Cleobulus, Myson, and adds "and the seventh among these was said (ἐλέγετο) to have been Chilon of Sparta." For the early popularity of the individual sages cf. the red-figure cup by Oltos, Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 54 (photograph) and p. 194, and the comments by Ch. Picard, *Rev. archéol.* XXVI (1946), p. 97, n. 1. Schefold also mentions an archaic dedication to Chilon. Reconstructions of a book on the symposium of the Seven Sages assigned to the fifth century B.C. have been essayed by K. Joel, *Der echte und der xenophontische Sokrates*, Berlin, 1901, II, 2, pp. 756 ff., O. Brendel, *RM LI* (1936), pp. 20 ff., and L. Radermacher, *Weinen und Lachen*, Vienna, 1947, Chapter V, a reference I owe to Professor A. D. Nock. Although Herodotus makes much of several members of this group, he does not refer to the canonic number of seven. Professor E. A. Havelock tells me that in his opinion Plato himself invented the canon, while the collections of didactic aphorisms ascribed to the sages might go back to early sophists. For the material cf. Barkowski, s.v. "Sieben Weise," *RE II*, 1923, pp. 2255 ff.

21. The different claimants to the title of Seven Sages are enumerated by Diogenes Laertius I, 40. One of his sources, Hermippus of Smyrna (*ibid.* I, 42) who wrote about 200 B.C., remarked that no less than seventeen different sages were included by the various authors among the Seven. For the popularity of the Seven Sages in Roman times Plutarch's *Convivium Septem Sapientium* and Ausonius' *Ludus Septem Sapientium* render ample testimony. For the pictures in Ostia cf. A. W. Van Buren, *AJA* XLII (1938), p. 409, fig. 4 and G. Calza, *Capitolium* XIII (1938), p. 12 and *Antike* XV (1939), pp. 99 ff.

A curious parallel for the canon of seven was pointed out to me by Miss Marjorie A. Krummel—the motif of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove in China. The historical models for this group were literati who lived during the latter part of the Wei (220–265 A.D.) and the early part of the Chin (265–316 A.D.) dynasties. In Chinese art, this group became suggestive “of detached enjoyment far from all worldly cares.” Here as in Greece, the historical personalities were probably quite different from their role in the legend. Cf. R. H. van Gulik, *Hsi Kang and His Poetical Essay on the Lute*, (Monumenta Nipponica Monographs edited by Sophia University, Tokyo), 1941, pp. 1–9.

22. Schanz-Hosius, *Römische Literaturgeschichte* (4th ed.), I, 1927, p. 562. Dahlmann, *RE*, Suppl. Vol. VI (1935), pp. 1227 f. and Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 191, on the *Annales* of Atticus.

23. Gellius, III, 10, 16.

24. Ausonius, *Mosella*, 307, mentions pictures of architects. The argument for hebdomadic groups of seated sages in the illustrations of Varro is based on the theory that the two groups of seven famous physicians in the Dioscurides Codex may in some way reflect the hebdomadic illustrations of Varro. Cf. J. J. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie* II, Munich, 1901, pp. 214 ff., pls. 32 and 33. H. Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei*, Vienna, 1926, p. 20. G. W. Elderkin, *AJA* XXXIX (1935), p. 103, fig. 7 A–B. P. Buberl, *JdI* LI (1936), pp. 114 ff. H. Swarzenski, *Art Bulletin* XXII (1940), pp. 7 ff., fig. 11. Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 191, seems to suggest that Varro had seven individual portraits on each illustrated page and that these were combined into groups by later Roman artists. Note also the opinion on the paintings of Ostia expressed by Von Salis, n. 27, *infra*.

The juxtaposition of famous men of Greece and Rome followed by Varro was not unknown in Roman art of the Empire. On the mosaic made by Monnus in the third century A.D. for a building in Trier, Ennius, Vergil, Cicero, and Livy kept company with four famous Greeks, of whom Hesiod and Menander are preserved. Cf. F. Hettner, *Antike Denkmäler* I, pls. 47–49 and Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 168 (photographs) and p. 217.

25. O. Brendel, *RM* LI (1936), pp. 1 ff., figs. 1–2, pls. 1–5. G. W. Elderkin, *AJA* XXXI (1935), pp. 92 ff., pl. 22 A–B and *RM* LII (1937), pp. 223 ff. C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942, p. 109. Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 154, 1 (photograph), 191, 214. E. Suhr, *Sculptured Portraits of Greek Statesmen*, Baltimore, 1931, pp. 7 ff. and A. Von Salis, *Eumusia, Festgabe für E. Howald*, Zürich, 1947, pp. 21 ff., discuss the sculptured images of the Seven Sages. Schefold believes that the sculptured portraits of the sages were first made into a “set” in the late Hellenistic period, while Von Salis suggests that such sets were made to order of Roman patrons, as, for example, the set of marble herms from a Roman villa in Tivoli. I am indebted to Professor Von Salis for sending me an offprint of his article by airmail.

26. This is the explanation proposed by Brendel who elaborates Furtwängler's suggestion (*Antike Gemmen* III, p. 166). Although nothing short of a new copy with identifying inscriptions can actually prove that the mosaics represent the Seven Sages, this interpretation appears preferable to Elderkin's ingenious attempt to identify the sages as Peripatetic scholars engaged in a dispute under the leadership of Demetrius of Phaleron. Other interpretations are enumerated by J. J. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie* II, Munich, 1901, pp. 34 ff. He mentions a suggestion that we might regard the sages as Socratic philosophers.

27. Another Roman portrayal of the Seven Sages is found in pictures of the second century A.D. placed on the walls of a tavern in Ostia. The sages are seated on chairs and are identified by Greek inscriptions. Von Salis has pointed out that the seven figures are disposed on the three walls of the room in such a manner as to recall the arrangement of the Seven Sages seated in an exedra. He is inclined to regard the pictures of Ostia as *disiecta membra* of a Varronian or similar manuscript illustration. Von Salis, *loc. cit.*, p. 20. For illustrations cf. n. 21, *supra* and Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 154, figs. 2, 3, 6.

We also have two mosaics, in which the Sages are represented by busts, that of Baalbek and that of Cologne, of the third century A.D. Cf. nn. 43, 39, *infra*.

28. A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen* I, Berlin, 1900, pl. 35, fig. 35, II, p. 172, III, p. 166. Elderkin, *loc. cit.*, p. 102, fig. 5. Kollwitz, *Römische Quartalschrift*, XLIV (1936), p. 49.

29. *Loc. cit.*, p. 13.

30. Compare, for example, the "Rostra" reliefs of Trajan, the triumphal arch reliefs of Marcus Aurelius, the Severan relief in Palazzo Sacchetti, the reliefs of the Arch of Constantine, and, for the late fourth century, the obelisk of Theodosius. E. Strong, *La scultura romana*, figs. 86, 159, 208, pl. 63. H. P. L'Orange, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinbogens*, 1939, pp. 183 ff., pls. 5 b, 16, 17, 22. On the general significance of this transformation cf. G. Rodenwaldt, *JdI* LI (1936), pp. 105 ff. and H. P. L'Orange, *Keisernen på Himmeltronen*, Dreyer, 1949.

31. It was described as Hellenistic by Furtwängler and as Late Hellenistic by Von Salis.

32. Catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus (*Ad duas lauros*). G. Wilpert, *Pitture delle Catacombe*, pl. 96. J. Kollwitz, *Römische Quartalschrift*, XLIV (1936), p. 44, n. 1.

33. In all probability, the Assembly of Socrates was painted as a counterpart to the Assembly of the Seven Sages, but whether this was first done by a Hellenistic, an Early Roman, or a Late Roman artist, we have no way of telling.

34. Wilpert, *Pitture delle Catacombe*, pl. 170. Kollwitz, *loc. cit.*, p. 53, n. 41, and p. 54. L'Orange, *op. cit.*, fig. 122.

35. A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans L'Art Byzantin*, Paris, 1936, pp. 207 f., fig. 10. *Fogg Museum Bulletin*, X (December 1947), p. 224 (photograph = our Fig. 7). Professor E. Kitzinger called my attention to this interesting work.

36. Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 214, "von den überlieferten Zügen ist nur die Kahlheit beibehalten."

37. Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 68 (photograph) and 204, with bibliography.

38. Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 84 (photograph) and 206, with bibliography.

39. They resemble, to a degree, the late variation of the Socrates portrait best known in a portrait of Villa Albani. For "popular" images of Socrates in Late Roman art cf. the sarcophagus in the Louvre, H. I. Marrou, *Mousikos*

Aner, Grenoble, 1937, p. 91, no. 90. F. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire*, Paris, 1942, pp. 310 f., pl. 33, 1, and a sarcophagus in Murcia, Fernandez de Aviles, *Archivo espanol de arqueologia* XVII (1944), pp. 337 ff., 351 ff., figs. 3-5. If the names of Socrates and Sophocles have been inadvertently exchanged, the "Sophocles" of a mosaic found in Cologne can be taken as another example. Cf. Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 154, fig. 8 and p. 214. Ch. Picard, *Rev. archéol.* XXVIII (1947), pp. 74 f. pointed out that it may be a variation of the Apamea type. No photograph has as yet been published of the bust of Socrates which appears in the fourth-century mosaic from Baalbek. For this mosaic cf. Maurice H. Chéhab, *Fasti Archeologici* II (1949), p. 209.

40. Already in the Hellenistic exedra of the Serapeum in Memphis, Pindar, Protagoras, and Plato were among the eleven famous men commemorated by statues. Cf. Von Salis, *loc. cit.*, p. 19. The mosaic by Monnus, n. 24, *supra*, combined representations of writers with those of the "inventors" Thamyris, Cadmus, Hyagnis, Aratus. On the sarcophagus of Murcia, Socrates is shown together with Homer, Pythagoras, Hesiod, and Plato (?). Cf. *AJA* LII (1948), p. 262. Other examples: mosaic, Gerasa, C. B. Welles and F. M. Biebel in C. Kraeling, *Gerasa*, New Haven, 1938, p. 299 and 483, pl. 85 b: Homer, Stesichorus, and Thucydides. Villa of Hadrian, F. Wirth, *RM* 1929, p. 126: Pindar, Ibycus, Euripides. W. Gerber, *Forschungen in Salona* I, Vienna, 1917, Color Plate 1: Sappho and unidentified literary figures. Mosaic Sbeitla, *Inv. mos. Tunisie* II, p. 37, no. 338 (plate): Xenophon. Others not certainly identified: mosaic Palermo, D. Levi, *Berytus* VII (1942), p. 40, pl. 5: according to Levi, Homer, Euripides, and Pythagoras. Domus Aurea: G. Lugli, *Monumenti antichi di Roma*, Suppl., 1940, p. 100. Mosaic of Arroniz, F. de Aviles, *Archivo espanol de arqueologia* XVIII (1945), p. 342, figs. 1-14: Muses and inventors. For sarcophagi with Socrates and Homer, cf. F. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire*, Paris, 1942, p. 310, pl. 33.

41. On the praise of Socrates for leading men to *vita communis*, cf. the passages quoted by J. Geffcken, *Sokrates und das alte Christentum*, Heidelberg, 1908, p. 40 (Cicero and Philo).

42. O. Gigon, *Sokrates*, Bern, 1947, p. 95, and others have compared this oracle designating Socrates as the wisest with stories about the Seven Sages.

43. Professor E. Kitzinger first told me about this mosaic and kindly supplied the reference. Only a brief description has been published. M. H. Chéhab, *Fasti Archeologici* II (1949), p. 209, no. 1788, fig. 45. This mosaic was found in a house of the fourth century A.D. and is, therefore, close in date to the Apamea mosaic. In the center of the pavement is the bust of Calliope surrounded by eight medallions which contain the busts of Socrates and the Seven Sages. This mosaic is signed by the mosaicist Amitaion. In another room, the pavement portrayed the birth of Alexander; a portrait of Aristotle was seen in one of the subsidiary panels. The owner of the house describes himself as Platonist (*Platonikos*) in the mosaic inscription of a third room.

It should be noted that Socrates is not one of the Seven, but added to them, as in Porphyry's *History of Philosophers*, where he was apparently one "of the Seven who are really nine." *Opuscula*, ed. Nauck, no. 4, and *De abstinencia* I, 15, p. 54, Nauck. Similarly in Libanius, *De Socratis silentio*, 9, he is the eighth sage, Heraclitus and Pythagoras being included among the Seven.

44. Cf. nn. 39 and 40, *supra*.

45. Cf. n. 20, *supra*, and O. Gigon, *Sokrates*, 1947, p. 197.

46. On all mosaics quoted in n. 40, *supra*. At most, a sage, inventor, or writer may appear with his Muse. On most of the philosopher-Muses sarcophagi the sages are conceived as individual "statues," not as parts of a group in a definite setting. Cf., for example, Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 182, fig. 3, Torlonia sarcophagus.

47. There were, of course, more than seven guests present.

48. D. Levi, p. 197, pl. 43 d. Interesting comparisons of style and composition may be made also with the ritual meals, for example, with the symposium of Seven Priests in the Catacomb of Vibia. Cf. G. Wilpert, *Pitture delle Catacombe*, pl. 133, 1. F. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire*, 1942, p. 418, with bibliography.

49. On this occasion some of the most famous Socratics were missing: Plato, Aristippus, and Xenophon. Cf. *Phaedo* 58 C, 59 B-C. The absence of Plato was likely to tell against any such subject in the third and fourth century A.D.

50. W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der Städte Campaniens*, Leipzig, 1868, p. 307, no. 1376. P. Herrmann-F. Bruckmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei*, pls. 160 and 161.

51. A touching representation of the death of Socrates has been recognized by C. Albizzati on an Etruscan gem of ca. 300 B.C. Socrates seated in a chair passes the cock to Criton (bearded) (*Phaedo* 118 A) who stands in front of Socrates with two youthful disciples; a nude man standing behind the chair holds a hemlock plant(?). The scene is undoubtedly abstracted from a Greek original of the late fourth century B.C., perhaps a relief rather than a painting. Cf. *Scritti in Onore di Bartolomeo Nogara*, Città del Vaticano, 1937, p. 4, pl. 1, fig. 2.

52. Lucian and Julian supply ample evidence. On the beard cf. the proverb "the beard does not make a philosopher" and other passages quoted by G. Humbert, in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. ant.* I, p. 669.

53. Libanius, *De Socratis silentio*, 23.

54. Elderkin, *loc. cit.*, p. 102.

55. Diogenes Laertius, II, 47, 5. Cf. R. Hope, *The Book of Diogenes Laertius*, New York, 1930, pp. 133 f., 137, 139, 164. Another list is found in Libanius, *Apologia Socratis*, 150.

56. R. Boehringer, *Plato*, Breslau, 1935, p. 14, pls. 1-5. A date in the third century A.D. is given upon the joint authority of C. Blümel and G. Klaffenbach.

57. The copies of a sculptured portrait of Antisthenes appear to me not inconsistent with the heads of these two philosophers in the mosaic. Cf. Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 86 (photograph).

58. For a battered head tentatively identified as a portrait of Aristippus, cf. Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 78, fig. 4.

59. The first Disciple on the right in fig. 4. On the "thinker" gesture cf. the interesting remarks of Elderkin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 104 ff.

60. Cf. J. Kollwitz, *Römische Quartalschrift*, XLIV (1936), p. 49. H. P. L'Orange, *Kejseren på Himmeltronen*, Dreier, 1949, pp. 172 ff. Elderkin, *loc. cit.*, p. 103, fig. 6, compared the ivory casket of Brescia.

61. For the relevant material cf. A. von Harnack, *Sokrates und die alte Kirche*, Berlin, 1900, and J. Geffcken, *Sokrates und das alte Christentum*, Heidelberg, 1908, pp. 17 ff. and 42 ff. I am indebted to Professor A. D. Nock for many helpful suggestions.

62. *Apologia* I, 5. Cf. Geffcken, *op. cit.*, p. 43, for a Christian martyr quoting words of Socrates.

63. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* IV, 11, 8. IV, 17, 1. II, 3. Cf. H. I. Marrou, *Mousikos Aner*, Grenoble, 1937, p. 280: "the Christian apologists present themselves as philosophers, are shown holding school, wearing the short cloak of the professional philosophers," and engaging in public disputes (with references to Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, and the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies).

64. F. Schulthess, *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LI (1897), pp. 369, 371, 375. The letter was written in Syriac, probably in the late second or early third century A.D. Mara, who provides some peculiar pieces of misinformation, sounds as if he received his learning by oral instruction rather than reading, perhaps from some itinerant "philosophers." The letter was pointed out to me by Professor A. D. Nock.

65. For a recent discussion cf. R. Walzer, *Galen on Jews and Christians*, Oxford, 1947, pp. 37 ff., and p. 15, on Galen's praise of Christian morals as not inferior to those of genuine philosophers.

66. Quoted by Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

67. Quoted by Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I, 3 and VII, 58. Cf. Geffcken, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

68. Harnack, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff. and Geffcken, *op. cit.*, p. 43, with references.

69. *De anima* I, CSEL XX, 1, p. 300, Reifferscheid-Wissowa. Wisdom, dogma, teaching, play an important part: *quantum dignior* (than that of Socrates) *Christianae sapientiae adsertio*.

70. On the development of the composition cf. J. Kollwitz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 48 ff. Three types must be distinguished:

A. With six disciples. It survived in a few examples into the fifth century, as in the Brescia casket, *supra*, n. 60, the Barberini plaque, n. 35, *supra*, and the curious mosaic of Pope Simplicius in the church of St. Andrew described by De Winghe. Cf. G. Lugli and Th. Ashby, *Riv. arch. crist.* IX (1932), p. 228.

B. The enlarged composition with the twelve disciples is probably Early Constantinian. Cf., e.g., E. Josi, *Riv. arch. crist.* V (1928), p. 195, fig. 15.

C. Somewhat later (330-360), a design must have become famous which showed Christ on the Imperial Throne above the sky and earth and the twelve apostles seated on thrones. Cf. the material in Kollwitz and A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, 1936, p. 207. For the similarity of the picture of Constantine enthroned above the sky cf. Eusebius, *Vita Const.* I, 4, 5, 24, 47, and for the meaning M. Lawrence, *Art Bull.* XIV (1932), n. 32, with reference to Matthew XIX, 28. For the mosaic of S. Aquilino reflecting this type, cf. S. Bettini, *La pittura delle origini cristiane*, Novara, 1942, pl. 39.

71. H. I. Marrou, *op. cit.*, Chapter V, provides a well-considered survey of sculptured monuments and literary evidence. Cf. also Kollwitz, *loc. cit.*, F. Gerke, *Die christlichen Sarkophage der vorkonstantinischen Zeit*, Berlin, 1940, pp. 38 ff. and *Christus in der spätantiken Plastik*, Berlin, 1940, Chapter I. L'Orange, *op. cit.* (in n. 60, *supra*), pp. 172 ff.

72. Irenaeus, *Contra omnes haereticos*, I, 25, 6 and Hippolytus, *Refutatio* VII, 32. The Carpocratians are also said to have worshipped images of St. Paul and Homer (according to Stieren, in his edition of Irenaeus). Irenaeus specifically states that these were *imagines depictae et de reliqua materia fabricatae*—some were paintings. Cf. W. Elliger, *Die Stellung der alten Christen zu den Bildern*, Leipzig, 1930, p. 16, n. 46, and p. 24.

73. Cf. n. 70 and Gerke, *Die christlichen Sarkophage*, 1940, p. 226.

74. Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 208, fig. 10. Grabar considers that the plaque might represent the Second *Parousia* before the Last Judgment.

75. For the prayers for salvation cf. C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942, p. 61, with references. For salvation through the True Philosophy cf. Kollwitz, *loc. cit.*, p. 50, quoting Lactantius, *Epit.* 47, *et vera sapientia . . . suscepta . . . fiant immortalitatis heredes*.

76. Kollwitz, *ibid.*

77. F. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire*, Paris, 1942, p. 315 and 433, quotes the inscription of Zenodotus, an *eques singularis* who had shown himself in his words to be an emulator of Socrates among the Italians and was subsequently raised to heaven to dwell with Orpheus and Plato. "Socratic immortality" is used as a commonplace expression by Libanius, *De Socratis silentio* 37 (Vol. V, ed. R. Foerster). This "immortality" could mean many different things. Cf. A. D. Nock, *AJA L*, 1946, pp. 143 ff. Libanius thought of Socrates as one of the immortal demons: "Each soul is immortal, but yours, Socrates, more so than those of others. If the wise demons do talk to the souls of friends, be not silent, but talk to us through dreams, Socrates, as now the gods." This statement occurs in a discussion of the Platonic Phaedrus in which *Despotai Theoi* and Demons, Judges of Souls inhabit the heaven. *De Socratis silentio* 39.

G. Rodenwaldt, *JdI LI* (1936), p. 101, has pointed out that on some Roman sarcophagi the dead man is represented as one of the Seven Sages.

78. Themistius, *Orat.* XX, p. 234, quoted by Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 275, n. 2, and 315.

79. The idyllic scenes (symbol of Paradise) and the Good Shepherd on sarcophagi are discussed in detail by Gerke, *Die christlichen Sarkophage der vor-konstant. Zeit.*

80. The population of Antioch has been estimated at 500,000; that of Apamea (including neighboring towns?) numbered 117,000 in 6 A.D. Cf. Benzinger, *RE I*, 2, p. 2663, s.v. *Apamea*. This figure is given in the inscription of Sulpicius Quirinus on which Professor Herbert Bloch refers to *CIL III*, 6687, Dessau, *ILS*, 2683, and A. Stein, *PIR* (2nd edition) I, p. 70, no. 406.

81. Cf. C. R. Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch*, N.Y., 1942. G. Downey, *TAPA LXXXVI* (1945), p. 283 and G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Speculum XXI* (1946), p. 256.

82. *Cynegetica*, II, 125 and 156, tr. A. W. Mair. Cf. Christ-Schmid, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (6th edition), II, 2, (1924), p. 680. A view of Apamea is illustrated in the Byzantine manuscripts of the *Cynegetica* which probably go back to late Roman illustrated editions of the poem. Cf. W. Lameere, *Bull. hist. de l'Institut belge de Rome XIX* (1938), pp. 1 ff., pl. 1, kindly made available to me by Professor S. Der Nersessian.

83. K. S. Guthrie, *Numenius, The Father of Neo-Platonism*, London, 1917, pp. 41 (no. xli), 65 (no. 1, 5-8), 25 (no. xxiv), 3 (no. xiii). R. Beutler, *RE Suppl. VII* (1940), pp. 663 ff., with recent editions and bibliography.

84. Freudenthal, *RE I*, 1 s.v. *Amelius*, p. 1822.

85. Libanius, *Orat.* LII, 21, Vol. IV, p. 35, Foerster. Christ-Schmid, *op. cit.* (in n. 82), II, 2, p. 1052, n. 3. The following description of the school of Apamea is based on J. Bidez, *REG XXXII* (1919), pp. 31 ff. Cf. also *CAH XII* (1939), p. 683: "pupils hurried in crowds all along the roads of Asia to the town of Apamea" (after Eunapius). For an epitome of Aristotle's zoology written by Sopatrus, cf. A. W. Mair, *Oppian*, London, 1928, p. xxxix.

86. O. Seeck, *RE s.v. Sopatros*, p. 1006, no. 11. A. Piganiol, *L'Empereur*

Constantin, Paris, 1932, p. 180, says that Sopatrus was executed upon the instigation of Ablavius, consul in 331 A.D.

87. He died in 365 A.D. Cf. Bidez, *loc. cit.* (in n. 85), and O. Seeck, *loc. cit.*, p. 1007, no. 12.

88. Sozomenus VII, 15. A. von Harnack, *The Expansion of Christianity*, New York, 1905, p. 288, n. 1. Harnack gives other data on history of Christianity in Apamea. It was seat of the sect of Elkesaites, had its share of martyrs, and its bishop is named as present at Councils from 314 A.D. on. *Ibid.*, II, 278, n. 1, 288, 360, n. 2. Excavations have shown that there was a synagogue, which was paved in 392 A.D., but subsequently turned into a Christian church. There was also a *Tycheum*. Apparently the city was thoroughly Christianized in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Cf. *Bull. Brux.* III, x, 5 (1938), p. 99, fig. 6 (synagogue). *Antiquité Classique* VIII (1939), p. 206 (Tycheum). R. H. Delehay, *Analecta Bollandiana* LIII (1935), pp. 225 ff. L. De Bruyne, *Riv. arch. crist.* XIII (1936), pp. 331 ff. (synagogue; reliquary of Sts. Cosmas, Damian, and Theodorus).

89. Cf. n. 43, *supra*.

90. There was no doubt a distinction between the extreme theurgical philosophers and near-neutral purveyors of eloquence and letters, but in many cases the attitudes were fused. Cf. J. Bidez, *La vie de l'Empereur Julien*, Gand, 1930, Chapters vi, vii, xi, xii and Geffcken, *Kaiser Julianus*, 1914, p. 1 f., 5, on the unity of the time.

91. For Libanius cf. n. 77, *supra*. The two declamations on Socrates, *De Socratis silentio* and *Apologia Socratis*, certainly show an interest in Socrates on the part of Libanius but yield little more than exhibition of traditional learning. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXI, 14, 3, quoted by A. D. Nock, *JRS* XXXVII (1947), p. 111, where other material on the *daimonion* of Socrates is cited.

92. Constantine's *Oratio ad Sanctos* provides a good example. Socrates is blamed for indulging his power of making the worse appear the better reason, Pythagoras for being an impostor. On Pythagoras cf. also Nock, *AJA* L (1946), p. 154.

93. Cf. the surveys given by Harnack, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff., and Geffcken, *Sokrates und das alte Christentum*, Heidelberg, 1908, pp. 27 ff. Geffcken suggests that there were two revivals of interest in Socrates, the first caused by the portrait drawn by Porphyry in his *History of Philosophers* and the second under Julian. Porphyry himself was no doubt favorable but his conscientiousness also provided ammunition for the church fathers in the anecdotal gossip. These are counterbalanced by favorable statements, but most of these, too, are in the nature of reference to a well-known example and not a vital defense as with the earlier apologists. St. Augustine has, of course, a thoughtful and eloquent appreciation for Socrates. The relatively favorable statements of John Chrysostomus are of interest for the intellectual climate of Antioch.

94. *De abstinencia* I, 15. For the birth of Alexander on the Baalbek mosaic, one might recall the superiority of Alexander over Caesar in Julian, *Caes.* 324 B, and for the central position accorded Calliope among the philosophers Julian's sacrifices to Calliope in Antioch. Cf. J. Bidez, *La vie de Julien*, Gand, 1930, pp. 284, 301.

95. Cf. A. D. Nock, *JRS* XXXVII (1947), p. 115.

96. J. Bidez, *REG* XXXII (1919), p. 35, and *op. cit.*, p. 303. The wisdom of Plato in the *Laws* and in *Timaeus* is upheld as superior to Scriptures.

97. Many good pictures of the culture of this period have been drawn from literary sources. The archaeological material not only amplifies the picture but helps to correct the bias and partisanship infesting the literary sources. A scholar who can master both literary and archaeological evidence—an increasingly discouraging undertaking—might well be able to write an entirely new cultural history of Roman Syria.

98. On the "rhetorical" education of Christians cf. Bidez, *op. cit.*, p. 48 and pp. 263 ff., the discussion of Julian's attempt to bar Christians from the teaching of "Classics."

99. Plato and Socrates seated below Philosophy surrounded by Seven Liberal Arts, Hortus Deliciarum, XIIth cent. J. Baltrusaitis, *Gaz. Beaux-Arts* XX (1938), p. 273, fig. 13. J. Stefanescu, *L'évolution de la peinture religieuse en Bucovine*, Paris, 1929, p. 162, pl. 43: Socrates, Prophets, Plato, Sibyl, with Tree of Jesse. XVIth cent.? N. A. Bees, *Byzant. Neugriech. Jahrb.* IX (1923), p. 124: Socrates, Aristotle, Euripides, Plato. Before 1623. I owe the references to Professor S. Der Nersessian.

Addendum: to p. 217, on Socrates as "the greatest teacher in European history," cf. W. Jaeger, *Paideia*, II (1943), pp. 27 ff., and to p. 223, on the memory of Socrates in European thought, *ibid.*, pp. 13 ff.

AN UNRECOGNIZED SACRAMENTARY OF TOURS

BY EDWARD KENNARD RAND

(Prepared for publication by James A. McDonough, S.J.,
and Thomas J. Wade, S.J.)

PREFATORY NOTE

Professor E. K. Rand was at work on this study when he died, on October 28, 1945. He had intended it as a tribute of friendship and respect for the Librarian and Archivist of the Vatican, Giovanni Cardinal Mercati, on his eightieth birthday. Unfortunately it proved impossible to prepare it in time for inclusion in the six volumes of *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, published by the Biblioteca Vaticana as vols. 121-126 of its series of *Studi e Testi*, Città del Vaticano, 1946.

At Professor Rand's death, somewhat more than half of the article existed in a third draft with notes. Part of the remainder had been revised and typed, while the rest existed only in a handwritten first draft. Although an effort has been made to complete the unfinished portions and to supply references, the latter part of the article represents only an indication of what the final version might have been. Several references to plates for which photographs were not found among the relevant papers have been omitted. The notes, for the most part, have been left as Professor Rand wrote them, and accordingly the first person refers to him. Other than minor additions and corrections of the revisers are indicated by square brackets.

The author has expressed in several places his gratitude for the kind interest of several scholars and undoubtedly intended a more formal acknowledgment of the gracious assistance of these and others to whom he felt indebted. In addition, the revisers wish to express their appreciation for the privilege of assisting in the publication of this article and to thank Professors John P. Elder and Mason Hammond for their invaluable criticism.

J. A. McD.
T. J. W.

AMONG the sacramentaries included by Leopold Delisle in his famous monograph and by the Chanoine V. Leroquais in his monumental work, there is a smallish and fragmentary manuscript, B. N. lat. 2296, which in its text offers something of a puzzle.¹ It presents, after fragments of a Penitential, what is called "un curieux mélange" of Gelasian and Gregorian elements in which the former predominate.² [A greater number of Gregorian forms might have

been expected after the eighth century], and yet the date of this book, according to both authorities, is the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. Accordingly, Delisle assigns to it the title "Fragment d'un Sacramentaire d'une église indéterminée."

I

The history of the sacramentary in the early Middle Ages is part of a much larger affair — the triumphantly spreading power of the Holy See.³ In the Merovingian period, two different varieties of sacramentary flourished in western Europe: the Roman, found at Rome and in South Italy, and the Gallican, which prevailed in Gaul, Spain, Britain, Ireland, and North Italy. The main rites were of course the same, but in details there was great variance.

A sacramentary was originally a collection of the parts of the Mass recited only by the celebrant himself, namely Collects, Secrets, Postcommunions, Prefaces, and the Canon. The Epistles, the Gospels, and all the portions of the Mass sung by the choir were found in separate books. The convenience of the different officers of the Mass obviously furnished the principle for this division. A sacramentary originally included also the ritual prayers for other sacraments such as Baptism, Confirmation, and Ordination, which later were included in special books. On the other hand, the portions of the Mass originally outside the sacramentary, eventually, at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, were included in a Missal, the original of that in use today.⁴

The earlier Roman sacramentaries,⁵ attributed to Pope Leo I (461) and Pope Gelasius I (496) respectively, were the basis for innovations in the extra-Roman regions. Localities added prayers or Prefaces or special Masses to suit their needs. The result at the beginning of the seventh century was a luxuriant growth that needed pruning.⁶ Rome, self-centred, was in a better position to resist these intrusions. There was introduced, moreover, a simpler form, destined for universality, in the Gregorian Sacramentary, which breathes the spirit of the great reformer with whose name it is identified.⁷

From time to time in the eighth century, the original Roman liturgy made inroads into France. Metz, for instance, adopted a stricter ritual in 754, and about 760 King Pippin obtained from Pope Paul I the antiphonary and the responsorial of Rome. But Charlemagne, while paying due tribute to his father's plans, was the first to put through a systematic reform. With the desire of a ruler to secure unity in liturgical practice no less than in government,

and with a desire worthy of a philologist to get the true text in place of a corrupted form,⁸ Charlemagne applied to Pope Hadrian I and received from him between the years 784 and 791 a copy of the *Liber Sacramentorum de circulo anni exposito a sancto Gregorio Papa Romano edito*. This form doubtless contained certain additions made since the time of Pope Gregory, but it represented in any case the official sacramentary approved by Rome, possibly by Hadrian himself, at the end of the eighth century.

This Gregorian Sacramentary was at once prescribed by the Emperor for use in the Churches of Gaul and the old Gelasian Sacramentary was displaced. But Charlemagne tempered accuracy with discretion. When the Emperor ordered that a text of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* be prepared from the Saint's own autograph, he nevertheless permitted the retention in the margins of variants from later recensions, so that nothing might be lost. Similarly when his favorite scholar, the Englishman Alcuin, retired to the monastery of St. Martin at Tours in 796, Charlemagne in all probability commissioned him to prepare a supplement to the new sacramentary, which should contain matter derived from its Gelasian predecessors, and from the sanction of long usage dear to many hearts in France.⁹ The purpose of the supplement is explained in a preface, beginning: *Hucusque praecedens sacramentorum libellus a beato papa Gregorio constat esse editus*. The style of this preface surely resembles Alcuin's.

There followed a strange process of amalgamation. The preface *Hucusque*, which had a scholarly but not a practical value, dropped out of some manuscripts. That made it easy to take back into the body of the sacramentary some of the parts that had been deliberately relegated to an appendix. The process began, apparently, rather soon. In fact, the number of manuscripts containing merely the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* in its pure form is small.¹⁰ The infiltration of the ancient elements increased in the later centuries, from the end of the ninth to the twelfth, and finally, by one of the little ironies of history, the conflated form was adopted by Rome first in the thirteenth century and then in 1570 by Pope Pius V.¹¹

Where in this series shall we place the fragmentary sacramentary now in the Bibliothèque Nationale? From the date previously assigned to it, it should belong with the conflated texts just described. But first we must study in some detail the contents and characteristics of the manuscript.

II

B. N. lat. 2296 is a volume of 43 leaves, 295 x 185 mm., bound in pasteboard covered with parchment.¹² It formerly belonged to De Thou,¹³ was acquired by Colbert (No. 1348), and entered in the Bibliothèque Royale as Regius 4230, 2. The earliest scholar to give it a date was Dom E. Martène, who knew it still as a *Colbertinus* and who thought it written about 800 or possibly 900 years before the publication of his *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus* in 1736.¹⁴ The catalogue of 1744 puts it obviously too late, *saeculo undecimo*. Delisle moves that date ahead to "la fin du IX^e ou du X^e siècle" and Leroquais accepts the earlier of these alternatives. But Bishop, although likewise calling it a book "of late date," would exempt its text from the class of the later manuscripts, as we shall see.¹⁵

The sacramentary begins on fol. 4^v (Plate I) with the title:

INCPT̄ LIBER
SACRAMENTORU
ROMANE ECCL̄AE
ORDINE EXSCARP̄s
ORATIONES IN
VIGILIA NATALI
DNI
AD NONAM.¹⁶

Delisle notes that the volume consists of eight fragments, of the contents of which he gives a summary description, noting that what today forms the second gathering really contains a later portion of the text. Leroquais, without commenting on the division made by Delisle, gives a more elaborate account of the contents and adds the important observation that there are two hands in the manuscript, one (A) writing 20 leaves (folia 1-8, 16-27, i.e., gatherings I, III, IV), the other (B) writing 23 leaves (folia 9-15, 28-43, i.e., gatherings II, V, VI, VII). Obviously this collection of 43 leaves gives only a fragment of the complete sacramentary.

We may now note that the two portions of this fragment are not the work of contemporary scribes. For although Hand A seems clearly of the end of the ninth century, Hand B seems just as clearly of the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. And I believe that I may claim the weighty and independent support of Professor E. A. Lowe for this opinion.¹⁷

INCEPT LIBER

SACRAMENTORY

ROMAN ECCLESIAE

ORDINE EXCARRE

ORATIONES IN

VIGILIA NATALI

DOMINI

AD NO NAM

The Gatherings

All are fragmentary, but quaternions were probably the regular style in the original manuscript.¹⁸

I. (8 folia): 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 6 | 7 8

At the centre of the lower margin of fol. 8^v can be seen the remains of what may be a signature (majuscule B?). Folia 1-4 contain fragments of the Penitential to which reference has been made (Plate III). The sacramentary begins on fol. 4^v (Plate I) and contains Book I, Forms I-V, XVII-XXIV of the text.¹⁹ Between folia 6 and 7, now the middle leaf, the original middle leaf (leaves?), now lost, contained Forms VI-XVI. Folia 1-4 apparently belonged to a preceding gathering, and have been severed from their preceding halves. Hand A.

II. (7 folia) 9 10 11 12 | 13 14 15 A

Book I, Forms CCLXXXVI-CCXCVIII. A later portion of the text, as Delisle observed, but, as we shall see (p. 245), not quite so late as he thought. The last leaf, the partner of fol. 9, has apparently been cut away. Hand B.

III. (7 folia) 16 17 18 19 | A 20 21 22

Book I, Forms CXII-CXVII, CXXII-CXXXI. Between Q. I and III Forms XXV-CXI have been lost. The partner-leaf of fol. 19, cut out, contained Forms CXVIII-CXXI. Hand A.

IV. (5 folia) 23 a 24 | 25 26 27

Book I, Forms CLIX-CLXXII. Forms CXXXII-CLVIII have been lost between Q. III and IV. IV is an incomplete gathering, but nothing is lost between folia 23^v and 24, which divide CLX between them. Fol. 26 is therefore a single leaf inserted. A leaf would probably accommodate the text lost between folia 27 and 28. Hand A.

V. (7 folia) 28 A 29 30 | 31 32 a 33 + 34

Book I, Form CLXXII (end) and Book II (fol. 28^v, Plate V), Forms I-XIXa. At the middle of the lower margin of fol. 34^v is the signature XVIII. A lacuna occurs between folia 28 and 29.²⁰ Probably only a single leaf has been lost, containing Form I and part of II. Hand B.

VI. (4 folia) 35 + 36 | 37 + 38

Book II, Forms XXVIII–XXXVIIIa. Between folia 34 and 35, Forms XIXb–XXVII, apparently two leaves have been lost. Their partner-leaves, probably containing XXXVIIIb, XXXIX–XLIIa, have also been lost. Hand B.

VII. (5 folia) 39 + 40 + 41 + 42 | 43

Book II, Forms XLIIb–LIII. The text is continuous. The work is not at an end on fol. 43^v. Hand B.

The manuscript has a modern binding of pasteboard covered with parchment, with the outside dimensions of 287 x 183 mm.²¹

We may now consider separately the two fragmentary manuscripts contained in the present volume.

III

Manuscript A

Q. I (folia 1–8), III (folia 16–22), IV (folia 23–27)

Dimensions. Script-space. One column. 220–227 x 140–143 mm. (including outer side-column 8–9 mm.).

Arrangement of leaves. Rule I (Gregory's) observed, hair-side confronting hair and flesh-side flesh.²² Rule II observed, hair-side used for outer pages of a gathering.

Ruling. On hair-side of inner leaf. Q. I: <<|>>.

Q. III: <<<<|A>>> . Q. IV: <<|>> (fol. 26 extraneous).²³

Lines on the page. 29 (30), Q. I; 29, Q. III; 27, Q. IV.

Pin-pricks. I find no sure trace of them. A set near the outer column-line appears on fol. 24^v of Q. IV, but there is nothing to correspond with it on any other leaf of the gathering. Very probably they were set well out in the margins, which later were clipped away. In that case all eight leaves may have been pricked together, in the style that I have called P 1 — 8.²⁴

Ink. Various shades of brown.

Majuscules. The page of square capitals used for the title on fol. 4^v (Plate I) shows the manner of Tours. Likewise the alternate use of red and black lines of lettering. Some of the inner spaces of the black letters have received a wash of yellow or of green; yellow is appropriate for an early book of Tours, green, to the best of my recollection, is not.

On the next page, fol. 5 (Plate II) a hierarchy of script appears.

maleficiis aut uedomofuias lufant. *Idem de Eorum*
antur. Si uero ſeculari et confefſi paenitentiam quinquagena
agunt ſecundum regulas antiquas conſtitutas. Qui et uinum
lucum comederint deinde confefſus fuerit ſacerdos conſideret
re debet perſonam in qua dicitur uel quomodo doctus aut qualiter
contigit. Si uero auctoritas ſacerdotis circa firmitatem moderat
hoc in omni paenitentia. & confessione ſemper in omni in quantum d
adiuuare dignatur. cum omni diligetia conſeruatur.

VIII DE SURIS ET CUPIDITATE AUARITIA ET QUI HOSPITES QUI NON RECIPIT QUI IN ANOXA EUANGELICAN IMPLERE

Siquis ſuſcipit unde cumque exigerit in ann. pen. I. ex his
in panem dāqua. Qui per man & in avaritia alienatur. Qu
cumque hoſpites non recipit in domo ſua. ſicut dñs ipſe cepit
& regnauit eorum promiſſe. Ubi dicit uenite benediſſe
paenitentia. quanto tempus hoſpites non recepit. & mandata
angelica non adimpleuit. nec pedes lauauit. nec alimofina
fecit. tanto tempus pen in panem dāqua. ſi non emendauerit
heſitans ſupflua in emendationem tempus pignoratiam tribuat
illa pauperibus. Si autem contemptum arguentium alimofina
& in uindicta ſacerdotis permanent. aut in avaritia alienatur.
in peccata uferentia quae ſuas ſunt contineat dictum tribuat
oligentibus. quae reſpiciunt. Clericus habens ſupflua. donec
perierit. Si autem excommunicatur. ſi autem poſtea
perierit tempore quo uiuit in emendationem in paenitentia
remotus uiuat. Siquis cupidus aut avarus. aut ſupbus. aut
neceſſarius modio habuit. uel alia huiusmodi quaedam
in ann. pen. I. ex his in panem dāqua. ſi non emendauerit

VIII DE TRISTITIA DOLO MALCON

consistere fundamentis. de quorū collegio beati thome
sollemni celebramus. tu ad nō p̄reconia nō taceamus
ideo cum ang^t **POST COMMUN**
conferat ad nō populum tuū. & quem scōrum tuorū p̄re
sidus nō desinit adiuuari. p̄p̄ & iustitibus gaudere
remediis. per dñm nr̄m
LXX OGNITIONE NATALICIS

IN TUSCARIVRIS
Iouerit uñ deuotio sc̄issimifratres. quod beati
madr̄is illi anniverſarius dies incipit. quod diaboli
temptationes exsuperans uniuersitatē creatoris glo
riosa passione coniunctus est. **LI PLURALI**
quod diaboli temptamenta uincens uniuersitatē cre
atoris gloriose passione coniunctus sunt. Ideoq; dñm
conlaudemus qui est in x̄bilis in sc̄issimis. ut quilibet uult
nātorū am contulit. Nobis scōrum meritis delictorū
indulgentiam largiatur. In illo igitur loco uel in illa
uita illa fer. hanc eadem festiuitatem sollicita deu
otē celebramus. **CLXXI IN NT**
IN TUSAPI QUALCULICIS

KE clemmum scōrum splendor maxebit. qui hunc
dñm beati p̄re uult mādriū consecrati. da ceta dñs
digned & antogaudere apto. ut apud misericordiam
tuā & exemplum eius iuueniunt & meritis p̄ **SECCI**
sē p̄e p̄e hōstias placationis & laudis. quāstibi offe
rent. sp̄e honore & beneficia beati p̄re uult & cōmēto
ut glorioſa intercessionē cū nobis compuncta. **CLXXI**
IN TUSAPI QUALCULICIS

The ornamental capital *D* is accompanied by very decent uncials that then pass into minuscules. No semiuncials are used.

Script. Minuscules (Plate II). A clear, regular hand with a *g* not unworthy of the developed manner of Tours, and with ligatures of *ct*, *rt*, *st*, *ra*, and *re*, suggestive of the "Embellished Merovingian" manner (Style IV A), which prevailed to the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century.²⁵ But, if the script is of Tours, it is rather the "Revived Cursive" (Style IX 2) of the end of the ninth century,²⁶ which in this case is "revived" because the scribe may well have been copying an older book, some of whose features he sought to reproduce. Particularly suggestive is the approach to semiuncials exhibited on fol. 27 (Plate III, lines 9-11). The scribe displays a semiuncial *a* but also minuscule forms. A semiuncial *g* is not attempted. Finials are attached to the base of some of the strokes, as in the Style IV A, but they are inexpertly made.

Abbreviations. Few in number and variety, e.g.: autē (*autem*), ēē. (*esse*), ē&. (*esset*), nt (*noster* once), nri (*nostrī*) (and similarly in the other oblique cases of *noster*), nob (*nobis*), oīa (*omnia*), p (*per*), p̄ (*prae*), (*pro* is not abbreviated), b: (*bus*), q: (*que*), qām (*quoniam*), s̄ (*sunt*), uł (*vel*).

Syllabic suspensions. For: *em* as in impletioñ; *en* as in m̄te; *er* as in mirabiliñ; *us* as in cupiđ; *ur* as in moderat̄.

Nomina sacra. Regular, including aphi (*apostoli*), ecc̄la (*ecclesia*), ēps̄ (*episcopus*), pr̄br and pr̄bt (*presbyter*).

Technical abbreviations. In the Penitential: tēpr̄ (*tempore*), III. añ. peñ (*tres annos paenitentiae*), VII đ. peñ (*septem dies paenitentiae*), etc. In the sacramentary: omniṗs and omnṗs (*omnipotens*), q̄s (*quaesumus*), quem laud̄ and quem ł (*quem laudant*), per quem mai (*per quem maiestatem*), etc. At the end of prayers: p dñm̄ and p.D. (*per Dominum nostrum*, etc.), p.X (*per Christum*, etc.), p̄ which may stand for either phrase.

This list is characteristic of the regular usage at Tours, except the solitary archaic n̄t (*noster*). The use of *t̄* for *tur* indicates ordinarily a date of 820 or later, though not always.²⁷

Punctuation. Whole pause: a medial dot often followed by a small figure-7 stroke (·7). Lesser pause: a medial dot often followed by a small higher stroke slightly curving upward (·^).

Illumination. Besides the illuminated capitals on fol. 4^v (Plate I), the large initial *D* (Plate II) shows familiar motifs of Tours in vogue in the early decades of the ninth century.²⁸ The colors are red, yellow, and green, with an emphasis on green not usual in the early books of

Tours. Nor can the curious form of S in the centre of the D be matched, to the best of my knowledge, in the forms employed at Tours. Besides minor marginal initials, such as appear on Plate II, there are a few more ambitious attempts, like the S on Plate III and especially a D on fol. 1^v, that show simple leaf-motifs suggestive of the early art of Tours. Green, as before, is liberally used.

In general, work like this indicates either another scriptorium under the influence of Tours or a later period, the end of the ninth century, at Tours itself. Possibly, as we have suspected, a scribe working in this later period is copying a much earlier original. In that case he did not always reproduce exactly the ornamentation he found but added touches from later styles or of his own devising.

A correcting hand, less calligraphic but apparently of about the same date, makes two alterations of interest.²⁹ There are also insignificant scribblings on folia 1 and 4.³⁰

IV

Manuscript B

Q. II (folia 9-15), V (folia 28-34), VI (folia 35-38),
VII (folia 39-43)

Dimensions. Script space: one column, 215-218 x 130-139 mm., including outer and inner columns of 8-9 mm. each. Nearly but not quite the size of the script space in MS A.

Arrangement of leaves. Rules I and II observed.

Ruling. On hair-side of inner leaf. Q. V: <<<|>>>. Q. VI and VII: <|>. Q. II: <<<<|>>>. All these gatherings are defective, but Q. II indicates that the regular mode was 4 O. S.

Lines on the page. 27 in Q. IV, as in MS A, but 22 or 30 elsewhere.

Pin-pricks. These are found plainly *only* on the middle leaves of gatherings, the line-pricks running just outside the left column line as on fol. 31^v, Plate VI. The column-pricks are also visible at the tops and bottoms of most of the leaves that are pricked. No gathering in MS B is quite complete; yet from the leaves that remain we may be sure that the system is that which I have described as P 4 — 5.³¹ This system, invented towards the beginning of the eighth century, prevailed till the end and is found, but not frequently, in the early decades of the ninth century. It is an excellent indication that MS B is notably older than MS A.

Ink. Various shades of brown, generally rich, approaching black.

non capiantur in lecebris. tua semper suavi
tate pascantur. Per dñm nrm.

Propicia redne populo tuo. & ab omnibus
absolve peccatis. ut quod nostris offensionib.
promeremur. tua indulgentia repellatur. p.

Adesto dñe supplicibus tuis. & nihil de sua conscientia
pice summentib. ineffabili miseratione succur
re. ut quod non habet fiduciæ meritorum. tua
conferat largitas multa donorum. p dñm.

Quod dñe populo tuo. & mentem quam tibi dero
tus existat. & intellectum qui tuis de pos
cat. & propiciatione tua quam pidesideat.
quæ sine profuitur proficiat. Per dñm.

Plebem promittis subditam dñe propitios
intuere. Et quæ consolationes iugiter per caelos
tem gratiam dignanter operare. Per dñm.

Familiam tuam dñe per iugilem protectione con
serua. & per pœum defende presidis. ut omni
semper in ordinatione seclusa. tua iugiter provi
dentia dirigatur. Per dñm nrm.

INCEPTIBUS SEENDO

DE EXTREMA PARTE: &

ORAT. AD NATIVIT.

Tedne supplices exoramus. ut uisitatione tua sca-
 erigas ad te hunc famulum tuum. ne aduersarioli-
 cet usq; ad temptationem animae peruenire.
 sed sicut in obitu terminum pone. ne inimicus de anima
 huius sine redemptione baptismatis incipiat trium-
 phare. Differ dne ex tunc mortis qui iudicas de
 futuris. & spatium uitae distendere. & eleuaque
 perducas ad baptismi sacramentum. per redemptionem
 uitae inferes damnum. Tolle occasionem diabo-
 lo triumphandi. & reserua in quem triumphes con-
 pares xpi. Ut sanus tibi in ecclesia tua gratia bap-
 tismatis renascatur. salutis cuncta quaepetimus. p
Nisi ad extirpationem expa-
Zentilano hominancum suscepis. In primis
 catenizas cum diuinis sermonibus. & das
 demonia quae admodum post cognitam uerita-
 tem uiuere debent. post haec facis eum catenari
 nu. & sufflans in faciem eius & facis erucari in
 fronte. Inponens manum super caput eius. In his uerbis.
Accepe signum crucis tui in fronte quam in cordi.
 sume fidem caelestium preceptorum. Talis
 est morib; ut templum dei esse la possis. In
 gressusq; ecclesiam dei euasis se. & laqueos mortis
 & us agnosce. horresce idola. & respue simulacra.
 Coledm patrem omnipotentem & filium xpm filium
 eius qui uiuit cum patre & spu sco per omnia secla.
 SEQUITUR ORATIO.

Script. Here we have a real, not an imitative, Embellished Merovingian hand.

Majuscules. The capitals in the only heading preserved (fol. 28^v, Plate V) are altogether characteristic of the Styles IV A and III (Pre-Alcuinian). Note the finials.³² The first two lines are in black. The last line, really a minor heading, is in red. Other minor headings are in red uncials and semiuncials, sometimes a bit larger than those of MS A, and in general less perfect. They show a certain stiffness more appropriate to square capitals. The *e* is minuscule, not uncial (fol. 31^v, Plate VI). These letters are not up to the best uncials of Style IV A or the Regular Style (IV B) of Tours.

Minuscules. Here is the genuine Pre-Alcuinian or Embellished Merovingian style, not imitative, as in MS A. No less significant are the semiuncials, which appear on fol. 30 and on every page from fol. 31 to 34^v. Plate VI of fol. 31^v shows their use in a rubric. In fact the rubrics in this manuscript are regularly in semiuncials. They have finials and a few flourishes as in Styles III and IV A. The manner is that which the scribe of MS A imitated in vain. He imitated them because he found them in the manuscript which he was copying.³³

Abbreviations. In number and variety these are virtually the same as in MS A. The only ones noted there not found in MS B are: $\overline{e\&}$, \overline{oma} , \overline{s} , and $\overline{u\&}$, which are all in the Regular List of Tours.³⁴ Also not found are \overline{d} for *dus* and \overline{n} for *nem*, but \overline{cord} for *corde* and \overline{contra} for *contraxit* occur. \overline{t} for *ter* is more frequent than in MS A. \overline{N} (*non*) and \overline{prote} (*protenus*), \overline{q} with suprascript *a* ($\overline{q^a}$: = *quae*), \overline{sc} and \overline{saec} (*saecula*), \overline{tuor} (*tuorum*) are found. The use of *Nomina Sacra* is the same, most of the Technical Abbreviations appear, and in addition there are: \overline{km} (*karissimi*), \overline{semp} (*sempiternus*), \overline{benedi} \overline{qui} \overline{ven} (*benedictus qui venit*), \overline{iudica} \overline{vi} & \overline{mor} (*iudicare vivos et mortuos*), and others. The failure of MS A and MS B to agree at all points is not surprising. For both reduce abbreviations to a minimum. The only symbols regularly used by either are: \overline{b} :, \overline{q} :, \overline{p} , \overline{p} , and a suprascript stroke over a vowel or *m*. Other abbreviations are forced by the need of crowding; and when we collect them, they are found to coincide with the regular practice of Tours. That would be natural, if both (wherever MS A was written) had copied the same original.

Two symbols are of special importance. MS A has \overline{t} but B \overline{i} for *tur*, e.g., $\overline{impleat}$ for *impleatur* (fol. 13). More significant still, on account of the large number of cases, is the abbreviation for *noster*. B like A has \overline{nt} (\overline{Nt}), with \overline{nri} , etc., in the other cases, with two

exceptions. *Nostrum* is *always* abbreviated \overline{nm} (\overline{Nm}), e.g., on fol. 28^v, on Plate V, lines 2, 20, and rarely (folia 35 and 37) \overline{NI} occurs for *nostrum*. This symbol had ceased to be in vogue at Tours in Alcuin's time and in the period just before his. It does prevail in the Paris Eugippius (B. N., N. A. lat. 1575) written about 725 A.D. and in the Paris *Acta Concilii Ephesini* (B. N. lat. 1572) written about 750 A.D.³⁵ If we may continue our tentative hypothesis that both MS A and MS B were copied from the same original, that original must have been written about 775 A.D.³⁶

Punctuation. A medial dot for both the full pause and the half-pause. (Plates V and VI.) Occasionally (lines 4 and 5 of fol. 28^v) the dot is followed by a fine, higher stroke slanting up to the right. The lack of system in such corrections would indicate that they were made not by the director of the scriptorium immediately, but by some other scribe or reader at a later period. Alcuin's reforms in punctuation had not been established when the manuscript was written.³⁷

Orthography and grammar. One test of a Merovingian book is its spelling. In the twenty leaves of MS A, I can find only the following ten instances of Merovingian misspelling: *o* and *u* confused (*iocunditatis*, *custus*, *prumptius*, *postolet*); *ci* for *ti* (*uiciosum*, *uicius*, *saciati*);³⁸ *ti* for *ci* (*commertia*, *fallatiae*); *e* for *i* (*lenteamen*). Slips in grammar are rare: *tui laudis* (fol. 6); *servitus noster* (fol. 7).

Quite different is the case with MS B. In its twenty-three leaves I note some forty characteristic errors in spelling, for instance: *e* for *i* (*valedam*, *obteneat*, *corregimur*, *antestite*, *Helarii*, *reddedesti*); *i* for *e* (*elimenta*, *fugiret*, *distituas*); *o* for *u* (*iocundus*, *postolandum*, *incolomes* thrice); *u* for *o* (*pullutiones*); *ci* for *ti* (*precioso*, *pacientiam*, *propiciare*). Most of the confusions of *e* and *i* are corrected in lighter ink. In one case the reviser is at fault in changing *delicias* to *dilicias* (fol. 29). He may perhaps have been the supervisor of the scriptorium, impressed with the necessity of weeding out all false *e*'s (which bulk larger than the false *i*'s) and leaning over backwards in his desire for accuracy. On one page (fol. 36^v) he rightly changes *diriges* to *dirigis*; on the next (fol. 37) he wrongly changes *dirigis* to *diriges*.

An interesting grammatical mistake is found in: *cum coronis virginitatis et palmas* (corr. to *palmis*). The mistake is not necessarily palaeographical. To many scribes from the days of St. Benedict down, *cum* with the accusative seemed as natural as with the ablative.

In a word, MS B is not many removes from a characteristically

Merovingian text, such as that of the Gelasian Sacramentary had come to be.³⁹ MS A likewise derives from such an original, but by its time, more of the orthographical errors had been weeded out.

Illumination. No more elaborate page appears than for. 28^v, shown in Plate V, as already mentioned above (p. 243). Besides the use of black and red in the title, the marginal initials are filled in with yellow (faded) and red alternately; some of the loops of the letters in the title are washed with yellow. Red and yellow filling is employed in the other marginal initials in the book. Green is nowhere used. A few simple designs occur. The leaf and bud ornament familiar in early books of Tours is found.⁴⁰ There are also heart-shaped pendants (fol. 32) and other simple motifs characteristic of Tours. Everything that we have seen thus far fits in with a dating for MS B at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century.

As we have seen, a corrector has been at work in the manuscript. Besides the emended spellings, we note a few omissions supplied and a few variants added in the margins by a good penman, very possibly the scribe of the text.⁴¹ An addition clearly extraneous is found on folia 11^v–12.⁴²

Finally we may note the presence of a scribbler (folia 10 and 29), who seems to be the same as he who tried his pen in MS A.⁴³ His date is hard to determine, but it might be the end of the ninth century. He builded better than he knew; he shows us that the manuscripts *A* and *B* had been bound together at the time of his scribblings.

[Thus MS B appears in orthography, script, and illumination to be earlier than MS A, but like MS A to be a product of the scriptorium of Tours, at a date before Alcuin's reforms had become established, that is around 800.]

V

We may now revert to the question of the text, or texts, that our manuscript presents; I will refer to it in the present article as *T*.⁴⁴ As Ludwig Traube showed in precept and constant practice, palaeography combined with textual criticism brings fruitful results. Parted, they may be but blind guides. United they lead to a better understanding of early mediaeval culture, as the eminent scholars whom I have mentioned have amply shown.

In the matter of our sacramentary the way has been paved in recent times by the editions of Wilson and others whom I have mentioned and by the memorable studies of Bishop.⁴⁵ The latter, follow-

ing in the wake of Gerbert and Wilson, and in correspondence with Adalbert Ebner, divided the manuscripts of the Gelasian Sacramentaries into three classes. All these scholars had recognized two, an earlier variety prevailing in the seventh and the first part of the eighth century, and a later, compiled towards the end of the eighth century. Bishop alone would divide the first sort into two, *Gelas* i and ii, calling the latest group, which is our special concern, *Gelas* iii. I will retain the name given it by Bishop, and of the earlier varieties, consider only *Gelas* ii, represented by the one manuscript Vat. Reg. lat. 316, *saec.* VII, or rather, according to Lowe, *saec.* VII–VIII.⁴⁶ This I will call *V*.

The manuscript *V* rests on an ancient foundation, which received some accessions adapted to needs in France. As Dom Leclercq, following the researches of Dom Wilmart, declared, it is "l'édition gallicane du gélasien."⁴⁷ It consists of three books. Book I contains the Proper of the Time (both the fixed and the movable feasts) from Christmas to Christmas, Dedications of Churches, and Ordinations, including the Consecration of a Bishop. Book II gives the Proper of the Saints, and Book III has Masses for Sundays not assigned, along with the Canon of the Mass,⁴⁸ special Masses (e.g., a Nuptial Mass and one for the King), Benedictions and Prayers for special occasions, such as travel, tribulation, war, and peace — in short, substantially the same matter as in the Votive Masses and Occasional Prayers of the Missal today. This book is a kind of appendix to the first two books, which themselves are not rigidly systematic. The work closes with three brief extracts entitled *Incipit ad poenitentiam dandam*. These are related to the remnants of a Penitential with which our manuscript begins.

The manuscripts of *Gelas* iii used by Bishop are four, all written towards the close of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. A splendidly illuminated book is St. Gall 348 (*S*).⁴⁹ Thoroughly French is Paris B. N. lat. 816, originally at Angoulême and perhaps written there (*Ang*).⁵⁰ Likewise very French is B. N. lat. 12048 from Gellone (*Gell*), one of the most baffling and fascinating manuscripts in existence.⁵¹ Finally there is Zürich, Rheinau 30 (*R*), so closely associated with *S* and yet independent of it. Despite Wilson's careful collation of *R* and *S*, both of which were sent to him at Oxford, and his elaborate analysis of their contents,⁵² we need an edition of *R* like that of *S* by Mohlberg.⁵³

Gelas iii, building on a text of the type of *V*, discards the division into three books and combines the Proper of the Saints with the

Proper of the Time as best it can. In its original form, it has the Ordinations, including the Consecration of a Bishop, and the same sort of occasional Masses and prayers. It has the section *Orationes et Preces cum Canone* with which Book III begins in *V*, and though the beginning of a new book is not marked, we find a specially illuminated heading in *S* (Form CCLXXXVI), while *Ang* (fol. 116) has at the same point a special heading and begins the numbering anew. Both manuscripts therefore indicate the division in the original (*V*) from which they derive.

It is with this group, *Gelas iii*, that Bishop, despite the late date attributed to our manuscript (*T*), would place it. As a criterion of the Mass books from the seventh to the ninth century, he examined their text of the Roman Canon of the Mass. He is interested primarily in *Gelas i* and *ii*, but he notes the readings of some of the manuscripts of *Gelas iii*. I have collated these readings with those of *T*, which is not cited *in extenso* by him, and find his estimate fully justified. *T* belongs to the company, despite its "wide departures."⁵⁴

Let me start at the beginning, looking at the text of *TA* on fol. 5 (Plate II) from the Vigil of Christmas *ad Nonam* (cf. Plate I). There is no mention in *V* or in *T* of the Station *ad Mariam*.⁵⁵ The Roman churches are mentioned in *S* and *R* and in *Ang*.⁵⁶ Here is one instance in which *T* agrees with *V* rather than with *Gelas iii*.⁵⁷

COLLECTS. In *T* we find as Collects *Deus qui nos redemptionis* and *Da nobis omnipotens Deus ut sicut*. The first (so in *S* and *R*) represents the innovations introduced by *Gelas iii*; it was selected from the special Postcommunion for Advent in *V*.⁵⁸ The second Collect is the second one in *S* and *R*, but it is the first given in *V*. *S* adds a third Collect *Praesta misericors Deus* which is the second in *V*, but is omitted by *R* and *T*.

SECRETS. In *T*, *R*, and *S* occurs the prayer *Da nobis Domine ut nativitatis* where *S* has the marginal notation *Super Oblata*. *V*, however, has *Tanto nos Domine quos promptiore*, which is the second Secret in *R* and *S*, but not included in *T*.

PREFACE. *V* gives none. *T*, *S*, and *R* have *UD in confessione hodie eius faciem praevenire*. [*UD* is a symbol representing the words with which the Preface always begins, *Vere dignum*.]

POSTCOMMUNION. *Da nobis Domine quaesumus unigeniti filii tui* is found in *T*, *S*, and *R*. This prayer is not in the form for the Vigil of Christmas given in *V*, but it is an adaptation of the Postcommunion of *V*'s Form IV, ITEM IN NATALE DOMINI.⁵⁹ For the Christmas Vigil, *V* has *Huius nos Domine sacramenti semper*

which *Gelas* iii (*Ang*, *S*, and *R*) appropriated for Form V, IN NATALE DOMINI MANE PRIMA.⁶⁰

Here in a little picture we see some of the innovations made by *Gelas* iii, which are present in *T*. It is apparent also that since *V* lacks the Preface in this Mass the compiler of *Gelas* iii took not *V* itself but some closely related manuscript (or manuscripts) as a basis for his new recension.

We also note that *R* and *T* agree in omitting the third Collect of *S*, *Praesta*, and that *T* further also leaves out the Secret, *Tanto*. Wilson has shown that *R*, though bearing a close resemblance to *S*, has far less Masses for Saints.⁶¹ A feature of *R* not found in those manuscripts of *Gelas* iii to which scholars have thus far paid attention is the presence of a second book entitled LIBER SECUNDUS DE EXTREMA PARTE. This curious title is ingeniously explained by Wilson.⁶² Among the omissions made in *R* are the forms for the Ordination of deacons and priests and for the Consecration of bishops; the book was intended for the use of a priest, not that of a bishop. The forms for Ordination are found in *V*, as we have seen at the end of Book I. In *Ang* they occupy a substantial section of what is virtually a second book.⁶³ The compiler of the manuscript whence *R* derives left out the Ordination forms, likewise the Episcopal Benedictions that had occurred earlier in the same "book."⁶⁴ He uses the title *Liber Secundus*, which does not occur in the fuller text of *Gelas* iii. With the phrase *De Extrema Parte* we understand *Exscarpus* once more; the "Last Part" from which the excerpt is made included all the forms that begin with the new numbering on *Ang* fol. 116. Nothing could more plainly show the consanguinity of *T* and *R* than their common use of the new title (fol. 28^v, Plate V).

Wilson suggested, with due caution, that *S*, from which much of the latter part has been lost, originally possessed a *Liber Secundus* similar to that in its congener *R*.⁶⁵ The evidence that we have would seem to support this hypothesis. To be sure, as Mohlberg points out, *S* does contain a few forms in the earlier part which were of use primarily to a bishop and which therefore might presuppose the inclusion later of forms which only a bishop might use.⁶⁶ Still, the forms which appear do not absolutely require the presence of a bishop,⁶⁷ and in case of the bishop's absence the forms are indispensable for a priest. Since *R* has been shown to leave out many of the forms in *S*, *S* would appear to be the unexcerpted variety from which *R* drew. We may strengthen this argument by comparing *S* with *Ang*, which contains very nearly the same amount of material. *Ang* in the portion

that virtually constitutes a first book, namely, up to fol. 116, having 325 forms, while *S*, as Mohlberg's numbering shows, has 292. But this numbering is not, as in *Ang* and *T*, indicated in the manuscript itself. Two leaves have been lost which might have contained enough forms to bring the total over 300.⁶⁸ *Ang* in turn may contain some Gallican forms that *S* might have been inclined to omit.⁶⁹ It would be plausible, therefore, to suppose that in its second part, now lost, *S* contained the forms for Ordination, including that of the bishop. But before drawing any conclusion as to whether *S* has been excerpted, let us inquire whether *T*, like *R*, contains an abbreviated form of the text of *Gelas* iii. We may use *Ang* as a yardstick for measuring it. *Ang* opens, as we have seen, with the second Collect in Form II. Form III is the Mass for S. Anastasia, but that was not taken by *T*, which goes on to: III. MISSA NATALIS DOMINI MANE PRIMA.⁷⁰ This is naturally Form IV in *Ang*. Just so the Mass for St. Stephen's Day is Form VII in *Ang*, but Form V in *T*. And St. Agatha's Mass is Form XXXV in *Ang*, but Form XXIV in *T*.

The above titles come from *TA*, but the situation is not different in *TB*. In Q. II (folia 9-15), Form CCLXXXVI: IN NATALE (*sic*) VNIVS MARTYRIS (fol. 9) is Form CCCXXI in *Ang*, and Form CCXCII: IN BASILICIS MARTYRVM (fol. 11^v of *TB*) is Form CCCXVIII in *Ang*. In fine, 318 forms in *Ang* are reduced to 292 in *T* and 26 have been rejected. According to Wilson's Appendix, *R* has rejected, up to the same point, if my count is correct, 92. We have almost arrived at the place where *Ang* and *S* start off with the new section that corresponds to the beginning of Book III in *V*.⁷¹ We may infer at any rate that *T* deserves the title it professes of *Liber Exscarpus* and that *R* deserves that title trebly.⁷²

But, as we have noted, *S* can claim at best approximately 300 forms, while the last form in the first book of *T* is numbered CCXCVIII. But *T* by its own declaration is a *Liber Exscarpus* and, like *R*, contains a *Liber Secundus De Extrema Parte*. Therefore, after all, *S* is probably of the same variety. *R* has simply gone farther in the process of selection and rejection.

Just before the title LIBER SECUNDUS DE EXTREMA PARTE, *R* copies the subscription: *Expliciunt benedictiones anni circuli est numerus lxxii*. Just before it stand six of the thirteen benedictions in *S* followed by one that *S* does not have: *Familiam tuam Dne. pervigili*.⁷³ These are given in a somewhat fuller form in *Ang*, and their ultimate source is *Gelas* i.⁷⁴ *T* has this final benediction

not found in *S* with all or almost all of those in *S* preceding it.⁷⁵ In *TB* they stand at the end of Book I, with the impressive *incipit* of Book II: DE EXTREMA PARTE following (Plate V). There is no such title anywhere in *Ang*, though the heading on fol. 116 is impressive enough to usher in a book. In *Gelas* ii, a similar heading for Sunday prayers, *Orationes et Preces cum Canone pro Dominicis Diebus*, appears at the beginning of Book III.⁷⁶ Without stopping to speculate how the compiler of *Gelas* iii made up his arrangement, we may now note that *R* has not only the same title as *TB*, but an *explicit* for the Benedictions before it.⁷⁷ These two manuscripts clearly derive from the same source. *R*, like *T*, contains a Penitential before the Sacramentary, and other matter besides. I have drawn up a list of the headings in *T* and compared them with those in *R*⁷⁸ and in *Ang*; it is plain that *R* and *TB* contain the same set of excerpts and, with only one exception, in the same order. *R* contains errors not in *TB* and *TB* has errors not in *R*.⁷⁹ We need a critical study of these two texts with the endeavor to reconstruct their original, so far as the material left to us permits.

Another question that I must leave untouched is the amount of Gregorian material in our sacramentary. It exists in *T* and also in its congeners. I find good evidence, in support of Bishop,⁸⁰ that *Gelas* iii instead of being a later conflation of Gregorian and Gelasian, the latter drawn from the Supplement, was one of the sources on which the compiler of the Supplement depended.

VI

Liturgical books not infrequently give some hint of the places in which they were written. The glorification of a particular saint by assigning a special Mass for him or by mentioning him in the company of saints ordinarily addressed in any Mass, or by specially embellishing his name — sometimes in letters of gold — points to some locality in which he was held in particular veneration.⁸¹ In the *Memento* of the Apostles and Martyrs in the section *Communicantes*, we note a certain progression in the sacramentaries under discussion. In *Greg*, as in the Missal today, the names of the twelve Apostles are followed by those of twelve martyrs: Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian.⁸² The last names in the list are those of SS. Cosmas and Damian. These are the ancient and universal saints. The Stowe Missal, one of the representatives of *Gelas* i, has no more.⁸³ But two other saints, first glorified in France, gained universal recognition,

SS. Hilary and Martin, whose names appear in another of the manuscripts of *Gelas* i.⁸⁴ This manuscript is a thoroughly French book as the frequent mention of the *regnum Francorum* in the prayers attests. Moreover the names HELARII and MARTINI in the lists of saints are rubricated.⁸⁵ Delisle with due caution refrains from accepting the attractive supposition that the manuscript was written at Poitiers. He points to the frequency with which the names of SS. Hilary and Martin are included in the Canon of French liturgical books of the early Middle Ages, and likewise calls attention to the late mediaeval pressmark characteristic of St. Denis.⁸⁶ I find it still tempting to ascribe the book to Poitiers, on account of the special rubrication, supposing that it later went to St. Denis. Here is one of those problems that our increasing knowledge of Merovingian palaeography may clear up.

A longer list appears in the Sacramentary of Gellone, (B. N. lat. 12048): *Helarii, Marthini, Agustini, Gregorii, Geronimi, Benedicti*.⁸⁷ The saints who but recently had gained universal commemoration have admitted four more to their society and all six were established in the liturgy of France during the eighth century. It might seem a pity that *Greg* and the modern Missal rule them out. There are at least six in the sanctioned list whose immortality down the centuries has been less brilliant. But Rome decided wisely in fixing once for all a canon of the primitives.

The list given in the Sacramentary of Gellone is found in *R* and *S*.⁸⁸ The Bobbio Missal, one of the books of *Gelas* i, has it, with the addition of *Ambrosi* between *Helarii, Martini*, and *Augustini*.⁸⁹ The basic manuscript of *Gelas* ii, Vat. Reg. lat. 316, has also between *Damiani* and *Hilarii*: *Dionysii, Rustici, et Eleutherii*. That speaks for France, as does the phrase *ad Romanum sive Francorum imperium*.⁹⁰ We had not known that the Merovingians were so modern; they brought things up to date. No wonder that Rome called a halt. The new names speak specifically for St. Denis, and although it is not safe to claim this particular manuscript for that scriptorium, it may well have descended from a text of *Gelas* ii that was copied at St. Denis. The same may be said of *Ang*, which likewise has the insertion of *Dionysii, Rustici, et Eleutherii* before *Helarii*⁹¹ and the mention of a Frankish as well as a Roman empire.⁹² Another sign of a locality not too remote from Paris is the inclusion of St. Genevieve's name after that of St. Anastasia in the *Nobis quoque* section.⁹³

What now of our manuscript of Tours? ⁹⁴ It has on fol. 15 what I have called the typical list represented by *Gell*: *helarii, marthini*,

agustini, gregorii, geronimi, benedicti.⁹⁵ This is the original French "Gelasian" form, if my analysis is correct. We find, however, no *Francorum regnum* in the prayer in the Mass *Tempore Belli* on fol. 43, and though we may not be sure what it had in the prayer *Pro Regibus*, since that portion is lacking in *T*, it is reasonable to suppose that *T* here agreed with its close relative *R* in mentioning merely the *Romanum imperium*.⁹⁶ The evidence for a locality thus attests France, but nothing more definite than that. It adds nothing to the proof that the book was written at Tours, and presents none that it was written elsewhere.

Considering all the manuscripts of *Gelas iii* together, we plainly perceive that the country that produced this useful work was France. *Ang*, *Gell*, and *T* speak loudly for that fact. *S* in its script suggests the neighborhood of St. Gall at the end of the eighth century,⁹⁷ and it was once in the possession of Bishop Remedius of Chur.⁹⁸ Chur is a centre to which the book may reasonably be ascribed.⁹⁹ We may note that there is no mention of *Francorum regnum*.¹⁰⁰ *R* came to Zürich from Rheinau, and according to tradition was brought there by St. Fintan, probably in the early part of the ninth century.¹⁰¹ Its French origin is attested by the presence of *imperium Francorum* in the Good Friday prayers,¹⁰² and a fragmentary Martyrology at the end gave evidence to Delisle that the manuscript was written for a church in the north of Gaul.¹⁰³ St. Fintan was a wide traveler, having visited among other places Tours and Rome. In view of the close connection between *R* and *T*, this statement is of interest. Could there have been a copy of *Gelas iii* at Tours, from which both *R* and *TB* descend? [Could the copy of *Gelas iii* at Tours have been *TB* itself?]

Reichenau is also a centre to consider, as is revealed by F. J. Mone's discovery of various fragments of sacramentaries at Karlsruhe.¹⁰⁴ They are not 'shortened Gregorian' books, as Mone thought, but Gelasian.¹⁰⁵ The history of the script of Reichenau is a fruitful subject clamoring for attention, including its relation to that of Tours.

Finally, there is an important fragment at Oxford, first brought to light by Wilson. Its script he finds of "an unusual type, presenting affinities with both the Merovingian and the Lombardic." That is an old-fashioned description of the "a-b" variety of Corbie, and such it seems to be from the facsimile that Wilson gives.¹⁰⁶

It is plain that we need new palaeographical studies of all the manuscripts of *Gelas iii*. For the moment we may say that this particular type of Gelasian Sacramentary was a product of France, with

at least Tours, Angoulême, Corbie, and St. Denis indicated as important centres of its influence, and that before the eighth century closed, it had traveled at least to Reichenau and St. Gall.

VII

With the palaeographical data given above before us, we may glance at the later history of our book, so far as we may divine it. The original of which *TB* is a part was copied at St. Martin's (or Marmoutiers?) from the same original whence *R* was derived. Whether that original was written at Tours or elsewhere we have no means of knowing. Its text was only an excerpt of the complete *Gelas* iii. In the course of time our book, whether from a vandal's hands or merely from a loosened binding, lost individual leaves and entire gatherings. These were made good by the scribe of *TA* nearly a century after *TB* was written, from the same kind of source whence *TB* was derived. This source must have been a book of the second half of the eighth century. Since it had passages in semiuncials, which the scribe of *TA* copied inexpertly, it was presumably a manuscript of Tours. *TA* might have been a product of another scriptorium to which the ancient codex was lent, but seeing that its own script bears the impress of the late ninth century manner of Tours, it is most natural to restrict this little history to Tours itself. The final chapter again is a melancholy one. After the volume had been restored by *TA*, fresh losses later occurred in both parts, so that today only *disiecta membra sacramentarii* remain.¹⁰⁷

The present paper makes, I hope, some contribution, slight though it be, to the understanding of one type of the Gelasian Sacramentary, first indicated by Wilson and then yet more plainly defined by Bishop. We find in *Gelas* iii no haphazard affair, to be treated as a kind of appendix to *Gelas* ii, but rather, a well-reasoned attempt to rearrange the liturgical forms presented in the preceding Gelasian collections and to enrich their contents. Some liturgist of the eighth century should be given the credit for this notable achievement. Somebody else also compiled from this work, with the interests of a priest rather than a bishop in mind, the series of excerpts that we find in *R* and *T*.¹⁰⁸ As a step towards a critical edition of *Gelas* iii, a reconstruction of the *Liber Exscarpus* is essential. After the foundations have similarly been laid, for both *Gelas* iii and the earlier forms of Gelasian, we should be in a better position for understanding their relation to the Gregorian forms and thus to the progress of culture in the eighth century. For, as Edmund Bishop profoundly observed,

it is in liturgy that we can trace with especial clearness the growing aspiration for Roman models that led to the Carolingian Renaissance.¹⁰⁹

NOTES

1. L. Delisle, "Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXXII, 1 (1886), pp. 167-168. V. Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les Missels Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, I (Paris, 1924), pp. 60-62.

2. Leroquais, p. 60.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. xi-xvii.

4. Cf. Dom F. Cabrol in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* (= *DACL*), III, 1 (1913), coll. 807-825. Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918). pp. 39-61. [This description which Professor Rand had decided to omit for the *Miscellanea Mercati* is retained as helpful for readers who do not profess to be liturgists. For a more detailed account, cf. Bishop, pp. 39-61.]

5. Editions of sacramentaries used in this article: H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1894 (= *Gel Sac*). Cf. pp. lix-lxi on the warrant for the term "Gelasian." H. A. Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great* (*Henry Bradshaw Society*, XLIX), London, 1915 (= *Greg Sac*). M. Gerbert, *Monumenta Veteris Liturgicae Alemannicae*, Typis San-Blasianis, 1777 (= *Gerb.*). Dom P. Cagin, *Le Sacramentaire Gelasien d'Angoulême*, La Société Historique et Archéologique de la Charente, 1918 (= *Cagin*). Dom C. Mohlberg, *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alemannischer Ueberlieferung* (Cod. Sangall. 348), *St. Galler Sakramentar-Forschungen* I, (in *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen*, Mohlberg und Rücher, Heft 1/2), Münster in Westf. 1918 (= *Mohl.*).

Other helpful works of reference: Dom B. Botte, *Le Canon de la Messe Romaine* 1 (*Textes et Études Liturgiques* 2), Abbaye du Mont César, Louvain, 1935. H. A. Wilson, *A Classified Index of the Leonine, Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries*, Cambridge, England, 1915 (= *Index*).

Much water has flowed under the bridge since 1894, but *Gel Sac* is still a standard edition and one still reverts to *Gerb*. In recent times the Order of Saint Benedict has well sustained its scholarly lineage in progressive studies of early liturgy, as the abbeys of Farnborough, Solesmes, Maria Laach, Beuron, and the names of Wilmart, Cabrol, Leclercq, Cagin, Mohlberg, and Dold testify. Mont César should now share this acclaim for Dom Botte's contributions. Outside the Order, Bannister, Baumstark, Lietzmann, Lowe, and others have furnished important works, and all these—in various ways—owe much to Ludwig Traube.

6. On "Oriental Influence in the Gallican Liturgy," see J. Quasten, *Traditio* I (1943), pp. 55-78; on Byzantine elements, pp. 58, 61. In answer to my inquiry Father Quasten expressed the opinion that such elements were not introduced directly from Constantinople but had been present in the liturgy of the early Church from which both the Eastern and the Western forms derived.

7. Bishop, p. 41: "The powerful hand of a reformer had passed over the Roman rite," effecting "simplicity" resembling "baldness" compared with the "superabundant wealth" of "the Leonine and Gelasian books."

8. This is the gist of Ludwig Traube's great work, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti* in *Abh. der königl. Bayer. Akad. der Wissensch., philos., philol. und hist. Klasse XXI* (1898), 2nd ed. by H. Plenkens, *XXV* (1910). Many have followed in his wake. See *DACL*, coll. 820-821.

9. The Gelasian texts used by Alcuin had already come to contain some Gregorian elements: see *DACL*, col. 818. Alcuin also composed liturgy; see Gerald Ellard, S.J., "Alcuin and Some Favored Votive Masses," *Theological Studies*, I (1940), 37-61. [Fr. Ellard notes that the Leofric Missal copied in the Arras abbey about 875 is "the most accurate transcript of Alcuin's Sacramentary" which we have; see *The Leofric Missal*, ed. by F. E. Warren, Oxford, 1883.]

10. According to the latest pronouncement only four; Botte, pp. 13-14. The earliest is apparently Cambrai 164 (159), done according to the subscription in the twenty-second year of the bishopric of Hildoard (790-816), i.e., 811 or 812: HILDOARDUS | PRAESUL · ANNO | XXII SUI ONUS | EPISCOPATUM | HUNC LIBELLUM | SACRAMENTORŪ FIERI PROMUL | GAVIT. On grounds of palaeography and the orthographical errors in this inscription (false resolution of abbreviations?), I was induced to put this book rather in the third than in the second decade of the ninth century and to regard the subscription as a copy from an earlier exemplar as described in *The Earliest Book of Tours*; see E. K. Rand and L. W. Jones, *Studies in the Script of Tours, II. The Earliest Book of Tours* (The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass., 1934), p. 92 (= *Earliest Book*). Since nobody seems to have approved this suggestion, I might contentedly give it up, since the earlier dating supports my view that the new styles at Tours, of which the influence appears in the Cambrai MS, were introduced under Alcuin and not under one of his successors at St. Martin's. But for the reasons given in *Earliest Book*, I will still maintain the later date, particularly since the phrase FIERI PROMULGAVIT might refer to the authorization of the Gregorian Sacramentary rather than to the date of this manuscript. However, I shall welcome refutation.

11. Leroquais, p. xvi.

12. Delisle, p. 167; Leroquais, p. 62.

13. Fol. 1, lower mg. (blurred): *Jac. Aug. Thuani*.

14. I, coll. 713, 803: *ante annos 800, exarato*; col. 182: *ab annis circiter 900 exarato*, i.e., before either 936 or 836 A.D.

15. Delisle, p. 167. Did he mean "le commencement du Xe siècle"? Leroquais, p. 60; Bishop, p. 77.

16. *Incipit liber sacramentorum romane Ecclesiae ordine exscriptus (sic). Orationes in vig. natalis Domini*. Leroquais, p. 61.

17. The manuscript was first called to my attention by my friend E. A. Lowe in a letter of April 1933. He saw signs of Tours in the initial on fol. 5 (Plate II) and the semiuncials on folia 31, 31^v (Plate VI) and 32^v. I worked on the manuscript later in that year and in 1934. In a preliminary description of the manuscript sent me in July 1945, Lowe assigns Hand B to "ca. 800." Since neither of us can remember that we discussed the book together, I infer that he arrived at this dating independently either before or after his letter of 1933. It matters little to me whether what I discovered was already known to him or what he found later was already known to me. I can claim his support in either case. The discovery that the MS is one of Tours is of course his own. The late lamented Monsignor G. Lacombe also talked over this manuscript with me in the summer of 1934. He had come independently nearly to

my estimate of both the palaeographical and the liturgical aspects of the book.

18. In the descriptions of the gatherings, a plus sign (+) indicates that the adjacent leaves were conjoined in the later binding. [Thus it will be seen in the arrangement of the first gathering, that folia 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 have been so conjoined, even though folia 1-4 seem originally to have been part of a separate gathering.] The letter *A* (Q. II, III) indicates the stub of a partner-leaf which has disappeared; the small *a* the stub of a single leaf inserted in the other half of the gathering. The middle of a gathering is indicated by a bar (|), with the aid of which partner-leaves may readily be detected. Thus in Q. I, leaves 6 and 7, 5 and 8 are partner-leaves.

19. [A "form" is a section of the text containing several prayers proper to one occasion. These individual prayers are sometimes called "formules."]

20. Leroquais, p. 61.

21. [It is impossible to verify the exact measurements without consulting the MS itself. The dimensions quoted for the MS, 295×185 mm., are those given by Delisle. The dimensions of the modern binding, 287×183 mm., of the script-space for MS A, $220-227 \times 140-143$ mm., and for MS B, $215-218 \times 130-139$ mm., are those observed by Professor Rand.]

22. Caspar René Gregory, "Les cahiers des manuscrits grecs," *Comptes Rendus, Acad. des Insc. et Belles-Lettres*, 41ème série, XIII (1885), 264-266; E. K. Rand, *Studies in the Script of Tours I. A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* (The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. 12 (= *Survey*).

23. This system I call 4 (2) O(ld) S(tyle). Characteristic of manuscripts of Tours of the eighth and early ninth centuries, it yielded to N(ew) S(tyle) ca. 820-835 and was revived toward the end of the ninth century; *Survey*, pp. 11-18.

24. E. K. Rand, "Traces de Piqûres dans quelques manuscrits du Haut Moyen-Age," *Comptes Rendus, Acad. des Insc. et Belles-Lettres*, 1939, 411-431 (= *Piqûres*).

In recently studying an important illuminated Greek Gospel Lectionary (saec. XI-XII) at the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University in Washington, D.C., I found the same system, P 1-8, which also prevails in various Greek manuscripts of the same period at the Pierpont Morgan Library. It occurred to me that perhaps not all the folded double leaves were pricked together, but only one, into which the others were successively inserted and pricked through the holes in the first.

25. *Survey*, pp. 45-48, Plates XLVIII-LVIII, and for a later find, the lamented Dom Wilmart's "Dodaldus, Clerc et scribe de Saint-Martin de Tours," *Speculum*, VI (1931), 573-586 (Plates I-IX).

26. *Survey*, pp. 68-73.

27. *Survey*, p. 26; E. K. Rand, "On the Symbols of Abbreviation for -tur," *Speculum*, II (1927), 52-65.

28. See Wilhelm Koehler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen I. Die Schule von Tours* (Berlin, 1930), Kap. II, 91-163, with the Plates (esp. 12, 13, 15, 16). The MSS described (e.g., Paris, B. N. lat. 68, 11514, London, Brit. Mus. Harley 2805 and the Bibles of Zürich and Bern) are dated in the regime of Alcuin's successor Fridugisus (807-834). Some, if not all, of them I believe are Alcuinian, but my friendly controversy with Koehler does not affect the present statement.

29. In the Collect for the Nativity of St. John Baptist, he replaces & *pacis*

at the end with *Gerne* (i. 5), read by *R, S, Ang of Gelas iii* (see below, p. 245 and notes 4-5). For once our MS, in its original form, is nearer to *Gelas ii* (*Gel Sac*, p. 178). In the Preface of this Mass (for this we must go to Gerb., I, 141 = Mohl., p. 143, no. 931), after the words *In die festivitatis hodiernae qua beatus iohannes exortus est*, he interpolates *tuam magnificenciam* (I think *ci*, not *ti*) *conlaudare*. Is the source of this phrase also an earlier Gelasian? At the bottom of fol. 7, after the Preface for the feast of St. Sebastian, a much later hand, doing his best to write Carolingian, adds a set of Lenten prayers from *Greg: Oratio. Deus qui conspicis omni (sic) nos. . . . Secreta. Sacrificiis praesentibus . . . proficiant et saluti. Post-communio. Supplices te rogamus omnipotens . . . converte nos . . . propiciatus adverte. . . .* (*Greg Sac*, pp. 32, 29.) There is no apparent point in appending these prayers to a Mass of January 20, but at any rate, we see that in the monastery where our MS was written, both the Gregorian and two forms of the Gelasian Sacramentary were available.

30. Fol. 4, *st. aug.* : *H H et tala ain tanti* etc.

31. See Piqûres, pp. 419-420; E. K. Rand, "Prickings in a Manuscript of Orléans," *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* LXX (1939), 327-341 (esp. pp. 332-334, 340). Having found this the method of MS B, I could use it for rightly allocating the leaves in Q. VII, where at first I had not noticed the prickings on folia 42 and 43.

32. Cf. *Survey*, Plate XXXIX, the Leyden Nonius Marcellus (Leyden, Voss. L. F. 73).

33. [Professor Rand's third draft indicates that he had some hesitation about this conclusion.]

34. *Survey*, pp. 27-28.

35. *Survey*, pp. 84-85, 87-88.

36. [It may be possible to extend this hypothesis a bit further and suggest that MS B was the original and MS A was copied to replace or restore damaged sections.]

37. *Survey*, pp. 29-31.

38. Cf. note 29: "magnificenciam."

39. *Gel Sac*, pp. xxix-xxxii; Bishop, p. 67; Mohl., pp. lxxviii-lxxix. Some of the errors cited by the latter seem due rather to the thoughtless resolution of symbols of abbreviation. The most complete treasury of Merovingian spelling (or the most completely reported) is the Bobbio Missal, as shown in E. A. Lowe's edition for the Henry Bradshaw Society, LVIII (1920); on this Missal see also Dom Wilmart in *DACL*, II (1925), 939-962. Incidentally, if H. Magnus were correct in his theory of a steady transmission of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the Dark Ages, with more than one "archetype" (*P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon Libri XV*, Berlin, 1914, pp. ix-x), we should expect more signs of Merovingian orthography than we find in the extant MSS of the *Metamorphoses*.

40. Cf. *Survey*, Plate XXIX, 4 (Tours 10).

41. Folia 36, 36^v, 37, 37^v, 38.

42. In the lower margin of folia 11^v-12 the first Collect, Secret (*Super Oblata*), part of the Preface, and the Postcommunion of the Mass for the Passion of St. John Baptist are given in general conformance to *R* and *S* (*Gel Sac*, 196, 355). This form is begun just below the title: CCXCII. IN BASILICIS MARTYRŪ, which is in both *R* and *S* but not in *V* (*Gel Sac*, p. 366; Mohl., 284,

p. 232). Our manuscript in all probability did not omit the Mass for the Passion of St. John Baptist, but the part of *T* in which it appears has been lost, i.e., Book I, Forms CXXXII–CLVIII; these forms are bounded by Nos. 200–257 in *S* (Mohl., pp. 169–209), the Mass for St. John Baptist being No. 210. Whatever the purpose for the insertion of this later part of *T*, the use of *SUPER OBLATA* instead of *SECRETA* may show that the interpolator had a form of Gelasian nearer to *S* than to the original of *T*. See below, pp. 247–249. The script is later and cruder than that in the supplement on fol. 11^v.

43. [Professor Rand's third draft indicates that he had some hesitation about this conclusion.]

44. When necessary, I will distinguish the two manuscripts as *TA* and *TB*, although in textual matters they are indistinguishable, both being copies, and apparently faithful copies of the same original [see above, note 36].

45. See above, notes 4 and 5.

46. E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* I (1934), Oxford, p. 31.

47. *DACL* VI, 764.

48. *Gel Sac*, p. 224.

49. Edited most informingly by Dom Cunibert Mohlberg; cf. note 5. For facsimiles, with full bibliographical material, see Albert Bruckner, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica* I. *Schreibschulen der Diözese Chur* (Genf, 1935), pp. 89–90, Plates VI–VII. The MS, highly illuminated, is surely of the school of Chur, ca. 800.

50. A really palaeographical edition is that of the late Dom Paul Cagin of Solesmes; cf. note 5. It is a pity that the exigencies of World War I prevented the publication of the elaborate introduction and the table of concordance with all the other forms of sacramentary, on which Dom Cagin was at work. A facsimile of fol. 120^v is given opposite p. 1 of his edition; I made numerous notes on this MS in Paris and have found Dom Cagin's work invaluable for verification and correction.

51. It still awaits an editor. I have not brought into the discussion this important source for *Gelas* iii, partly from my hope that my friend Professor L. W. Jones may make it the subject of a special study. See Dom Leclercq in *DACL*, VI, 777, 794; Leroquais, pp. 1–8.

52. *Gel Sac*, pp. lxiv–lxxiv.

53. I hope we may read a promise in the subtitle of his work on *S*, "St. Galler Forschungen I."

54. Bishop, p. 77: "Though of late date and widely departing from its congeners, (it) must be classed with the eighth century revision of *Gelas*." To prove the case satisfactorily, one should reckon with a full collation of *T*. I have photographs of only about half of the pages, and in the present article can only offer suggestions to the ultimate editor of *Gelas* iii. In addition to Wilson's text, I shall reckon here mainly with the evidence of which I am certain, namely photographs of *T* and the editions of *S* and *Ang*. Cf. *Gel Sac*, pp. 317–371.

55. [The word "station" refers to a custom of the early Church. On certain specified days of the year (generally those of greater solemnity) the Pope and the people would march in procession to one of the Roman churches, where with special ceremonies they would assist at Mass and part of the Divine Office. Such a church was called a *statio*, and the route of the procession was designated *statio ad*. . . . Although the special ceremonies proper to a *statio* have been

abandoned since the time of the Papal residence at Avignon, the rubric "*statio ad. .*" is still preserved in the Missal. Thus the phrase *Statio ad Sanctam Mariam* indicates that the Mass which follows was celebrated at the station church of St. Mary Major. Cf. H. Leclercq, art. "Station Days," *Catholic Encyclopedia* (XV), New York, 1912. For a fuller treatment, cf. H. Grisar, *Das Missale im Lichte Römischer Stadtgeschichte*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1925.]

56. *Gel Sac*, p. xxxvi: "These headings occur, not always in the same form, in both manuscripts." Cagin, folia 2, 6.

57. For another, cf. note 29.

58. *Gel Sac*, p. 219.

59. *Gel Sac*, p. 5.

60. Cagin, fol. 1v. Here is an instance of the danger of inferring from Wilson just where a formule is located in *S* and *R*. We might imagine that this Post-communion is found in these MSS in Form I, but that is not true of *S* (see Mohl., p. 2) and likewise not of *R*. This fact we must dig out of Wilson's Appendix where the forms and formules present in *S* but omitted in *R* are clearly shown; *Gel Sac*, pp. 317-318. I unfortunately have no photograph of *T* fol. 5v, but I would wager that it agrees with *Gelas* iii. In *Ang*, Form I has been lost with the beginning leaf or leaves. The text begins with *Respice nos* (Form II, IX in *S*; Mohl., p. 2). [On forms and formules, see note 19.]

61. *Gel Sac*, pp. xxxvi, 317-371. [Here ends the revised typewritten draft of the author. The next passage has been taken from handwritten pages which seem to develop the point further than Professor Rand had originally intended. Although the material contained in the section immediately following has been taken from Professor Rand's notes, it has seemed advisable to revise the order of presentation and to recast many of the sentences.]

62. Pp. xxxvi sqq.

63. Beginning on fol. 116: INCIPIUNT ORAT̄ COTIDIANIS DIEBUS AD MISSAS CŪ CANONE. See above, p. 247. The Ordination forms are XLV-LXIV (19) = formules 2053-2125 (72). Forms I-XLIV (44) = formules 1716-2052 (336) have preceded and Forms LXV-CVIII (45) = formules 2129-2348 (219) follow. The work is incomplete, but apparently not much has been lost at the end. The Ordination Masses occupy the same relative positions in *Gell*. See Leroquais, p. 7.

64. Cagin, formules 1799-1858, folia 120v-130v.

65. *Gel Sac*, p. xlviii. Whether the missing part of *S* contained such a book, "we can not now say, but it seems not unlikely that this was the case."

66. Mohl., pp. lxviii, 68-77. No. 92: FERIA V CENAE DOMINI; no. 93: ITEM AD RECONCILIANDUM; no. 94: ITEM MISSA CRISMALE. Cf. *Gel Sac*, pp. xxxviii-xl. These forms are not in *R*.

67. Mohl., no. 489: POST HAEC ADMONETUR AB EPISCOPO SIVE AB ALIO SACERDOTE. (*Gel Sac*, p. 64).

68. Mohl., pp. li-lii.

69. Such as the Mass for Saint King Sigismond. Cagin, fol. 115v, Form CCCXXV.

70. *R* has Form III: Mass for Saint Anastasia. Note that here *R* has something that *T* omits and in this case agrees with *V*.

71. See above, p. 247.

72. For *T* see Plate I. Herewith comes off the star, unless some scholar has already removed it, from **excarpsus* in Gustav Körting's *Lateinisch-Romanisches*

Wörterbuch, 3rd ed. (Paderborn, 1907), col. 392, No. 3345. The form that he had posited is now confirmed by our sacramentary. [Professor Rand apparently did not consider the variants *exsc* and *exc* significant at this point. Cf. note 16, *exscarptus* (*sic*), Leroquais, p. 61.] Possibly, though I think not probably, *T* has made some error in numbering its forms. The manuscript has lost so much in its earlier part that we cannot test it in this point, nor can the omission of formulae be compared until the two manuscripts are collated together.

73. Mohl., p. 243. Formulae 1578–1581 and the end of 1577 may be seen on Plate V (fol. 28v) and fol. 28 begins with *et oves quas preciosas* near the beginning of 1570. My notes are incomplete, but there would be room on fol. 28 for 1571–1577 a. A gap occurs in *T* before fol. 28. Surely the rest of 1570 would have been on the leaf now lost, thus leaving only 1569 in doubt.

74. *Gel Sac*, pp. 240–241.

75. Leroquais, pp. xliv–xlvi; cf. note 64. [From this point Professor Rand's first typewritten draft has been followed faithfully.]

76. *Gel Sac*, p. 224.

77. *Gel Sac*, p. 368.

78. *Gel Sac*, pp. 369–371.

79. A distinctly later hand trying to write Carolingian supplies an omitted Collect for St. John Baptist's Day. This is in *R* and *S* and was taken from *Gelas* ii. *Gel Sac*, pp. 196, 355.

80. Bishop, p. 77.

81. The Abbé Leroquais has treated this subject in the admirable introduction to his work, giving a most useful calendar of the saints regularly mentioned; this constitutes what he calls a common denominator in all such lists. Leroquais, pp. xliv–xlvi.

82. *Greg Sac*, p. 2.

83. Bishop, pp. 82–83.

84. Vat. Reg. lat. 257. Cf. Delisle, p. 72.

85. Helarii is the customary Merovingian spelling, e.g., in *Ang* as on fol. 99v.

86. Delisle, pp. 72–73.

87. Delisle, pp. 80–81. Leroquais, pp. 1–8. Whatever may be the decision as to the home of this delightful book, it is the work of a free spirit who treats Merovingian conventions in both script and illustration somewhat as Cervantes treated the mediaeval romance.

88. Delisle, pp. 84–86.

89. Bishop, pp. 82–83.

90. Delisle, p. 67.

91. Cagin, fol. 118. Delisle p. 94.

92. Cagin, fol. 167v. *Regnorum omnium et romani francorumque maxime protector imperii*. Delisle, p. 95.

93. Cagin, fol. 119.

94. Cf. p. 245.

95. Bishop, p. 81.

96. Cagin, fol. 167v. *Regnorum omnium et romani francorumque maxime protector imperii*. It almost seems that *maxime* goes only with *francorum*. *Gel Sac*, p. 276.

97. *Gel Sac*, frontispiece. Cf. also *Palaeographical Society*, Ser. I, 185.

98. *Gel Sac*, pp. xliii–xliv. [“The inference that the Sacramentary belonged to Remedius himself is perhaps hardly warranted.” *Gel Sac*, p. xliii.]

99. Bruckner, pp. 89-90; *Gel Sac*, p. xlv.
100. *Gel Sac*, p. xlv. *Francorum regnum* is mentioned in *V* and *R* but not in *S*.
101. *Gel Sac*, p. xxxiv.
102. *Gel Sac*, p. xxxiv.
103. Delisle, pp. 84, 310. We may note the Mass of *Sanctae Genoveve virginis*.
104. F. J. Mone, *Lateinische und griechische Messen aus dem zweiten bis sechsten Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt, 1850. Cf. Delisle, pp. 81-83.
105. Bishop, p. 48, n. 4. See also the prefatory remarks of H. Denzinger in the re-edition of the fragments in Migne, *P.L.*, LXXXVIII, 855-882.
106. *Gel Sac*, pp. lvii-lviii, 1.
107. Monsignor Lacombe inclined to believe that two complete sacramentaries had happened to lose certain portions and that their fragments had then been united. I prefer my hypothesis, since both *TA* and *TB* represent the same variety of text—an excerpted *Gelas* iii—and since the sections included in *TA* and *TB* are never the same. It looks as though deliberation rather than chance accounted for the union.
108. *Gel Sac*, p. xxxvi.
109. Bishop, p. 63.

WALT WHITMAN AND HIS REACTION TO THE CLASSICS

BY RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE

"I too am untranslatable"¹

I. HOW IT STRUCK THE CONTEMPORARY

THE stream of discussion, partly denunciatory and partly a deification of the Good Gray Poet, has settled down into proper proportions. There is no question about his standing as a poet; and he has emerged also as a prose critic of significance to our American literary scene. In one sense, he "cut himself loose from any past, went billowing away into a dream of perfectibility."² The poet tosses overboard the Western tradition; the prose writer, however, — journalist, essayist, conversationalist — reveals a definite interest in this tradition, and especially in the classical heritage, through a voluminous amount of reading and a refracted rather than reflected use of its literary material.

There is thus an unexplored corner of Whitman's mind, with special reference to classical origins. So many of his contemporaries have defined him as Greek in spirit that we are inclined to ask what evidence exists in his life and writings, what use he made of these ancients, and what relation it all bears to the sum total of his creed. His independence, his announced reliance upon native American material, and his nonconformity would seem to cancel the genteel tradition, or *any* tradition. This would be particularly true of one who knew foreign literature only in translation and whose formal schooling stopped before the age of twelve.

Superficially, he seems to have looked like an ancient Greek. His best friends unanimously allude to his Zeus-like appearance. This may be an unreliable comparison; for Bryant (whom he elsewhere compares to a majestic Grecian) and Longfellow presented the same likeness. Walt himself had doubts on the subject. When his Boswell, Horace Traubel, asked him in his old age why he was so often called "Greek," he replied: "I don't see why; don't know about that; I am never pleased with such comparisons: I have a face: it seems to make up fairly well in a picture: that is all: my head gets about, is easily recognized; but where is the Greek?"³ J. A. Symonds, however, declared: "Singular as it may appear, Walt Whitman is more thor-

oughly Greek than any man of modern times — a head majestic, large, Homeric." "Whitman gave body, concrete vitality, to the religious creed which I had been already forming for myself upon the study of Goethe, Greek and Roman Stoics, Giordano Bruno, and the founders of the evolutionary doctrine."⁴ John Burroughs, who knew him as well as anyone, enlarged upon this idea: "I think Whitman was like the Greeks in this respect. His face had none of the nervousness of the modern face. It had but few lines, and these were Greek. From the mouth up, the face was expressive of Greek purity, simplicity, strength, and repose — the mouth required the check and curb of that classic brow." And Burroughs hints at a possible definition of his verse-forms: They are "like the irregular, slightly rude coin of the Greeks compared with the exact machine-cut dies of our own day."⁵ They thought of him as if he were an ancient rhapsode. A friend said of him when reporting a conversation with the old man in 1880:

It appears that he never dipped into the Greek language; said he had not.⁶ But I never knew anyone show profounder insight into the Greek *al fresco* spirit than he, — He said: "The Greeks tested everything by the open air." All the majesty of Greece, especially her sculpturesque art-idea, seemed to loom up before me as never before in my life.⁷

Whitman himself, whom we have already noted as sceptical on this point, spoke the final word:⁸

Samuel Longfellow away back was a student of *Leaves of Grass*, I was told, — liked it, called it Greek, — said I was the most Greek of moderns, or something like that — Others have made similar comparisons — He was making allusion not so much to the form as to the spirit of the book — the underlying recognition of facts which were the peculiar property of the Grecian.

Edgar Lee Masters⁹ is more specific: "He was never the Homer of America: at best he was our Hesiod, writing *Works and Days* in terms of what America was and meant, and what its rightful destiny was."

An offhand jest of Oliver Wendell Holmes (senior) throws some further light. The Good Gray Poet was called by the Boston Brahmin: "Half Bowery Boy and half Emersonian Greek." Here is an important clue. Emerson the Platonist, who declared independence of all predecessors, was the most respected and the most fundamentally congenial, of all Whitman's correspondents. They argued, and dif-

ferred. The Long Islander thought his friend at times too cold: "I wonder whether Emerson really knows or feels what poetry is at its highest, as in the Bible, for instance, or Homer, or Shakespeare." And Emerson expressed himself at one time as not being satisfied with Whitman: "I expected him to make the songs of the nation; but he was doing nothing but making inventories." Happily, both were wrong.¹⁰

There was, however, an inner congeniality, and a background of applied but not imitated material. Whitman was interested in but not absorbed by Emerson's Platonism and Transcendentalism. The Concord Sage never went so far as to say: "Lads ahoid of fire engines and hook-and-ladder ropes are no less to me than the gods of the antique wars."¹¹ Both were, as Emerson's latest biographer says: "Oracular and ejaculatory writers."¹² The human soul, which includes all previous personalities, is a unit in itself and a part of the universal soul. Finally, Emerson's definition of the Greek spirit is close to that of Whitman:

Our admiration of the antique is not admiration of the old, but of the natural. The Greeks are not reflective, but perfect in their senses — A person of childlike genius and inborn energy is still a Greek, and revives our love of the Muse of Hellas. When a thought of Plato becomes a thought to me — time is no more.

If a man claims to know and speak of God, and carries you back to the phraseology of some old mouldered nation in another country, in another world, believe him not!¹³

Both men thought more of the spirit than of the form, as Whitman remarked. Also, "I am probably fond of viewing all really great themes indirectly and by side-ways and suggestions."¹⁴ "As, in the glints of emotion under emergencies, and the indirect traits and asides in Plutarch, we get far profounder clues to the antique world than all its more formal history."¹⁵

But a chorus of Whitman's friends, hailing him as an ancient Greek in modern dress, does not prove any real classical influence. The criterion is far different from that which we apply to Tennyson, for example, throughout whose work, as well as that of Walt's archenemy Matthew Arnold, are recognizable techniques, ideas, and phrases lifted straight from their ancient setting. Tennyson, whom Whitman admired and with whom he corresponded, offers direct reflection, comfortable parallelism.¹⁶ There is another relationship, however, equally important. Thomas Hardy's resemblance to a Greek tragedy-writer is

based on his inevitable contest between Man and his Destiny or Environment. The ideas are transmuted into a new pattern. The fiction of Herman Melville contains little that can be closely identified: *Moby Dick* is a spontaneous hurricane of awe in the presence of a tooth-and-jaw nature.¹⁷ Even Shelley, the supposedly "ethereal angel," is proved to have been a systematic scholar in ancient sources, blending his material into new forms of imaginative fancy.¹⁸ It is therefore of some interest to investigate the background of Whitman's reading.

II. "ADVERSARIA CRITICA"

Passing from mere impressions of resemblance in features or viewpoint, we may next consider the negative reaction, even the iconoclastic reaction of Whitman's poetry and prose to the classics. He puts the two great nations epigrammatically in their proper setting: "The Greek, creating external shapes of physical and esthetic proportion; the Roman, lord of the satire, the sword, and the codex."¹⁹ But except for Lucretius, Juvenal, and the heroes of Plutarch, there is little interest in the Latin element as compared with the Greek. A curious comparison, based on a one-sided criterion, is that of Lucretius with Omar Khayyam, — "both as to natural temper and genius." Juvenal attracts his attention occasionally, with reference to the morals of a democracy, calling for the "stern magnificent mother," superior to the aesthetic or exotic lady described in the sixth satire. Again, Whitman stresses the need for bards who will denounce greed or injustice, such as "the Hebrew lyrists, Roman Juvenal, the old singers of India, and the British Druids," — a rather conglomerate assortment of authorities. Another curious combination: "I look in all men for the heroic quality I find in Caesar, Carlyle, and Emerson." He disliked any mental or physical strait jacket: "Goethe's constraint was Roman (Stoic), not Greek. The Greek let go, in sorrow, in joy, let go."²⁰ We do, however, find him concerned about certain *lacunae* in his Latin reading: in a notebook we find the jotting: "I discover that I need a thorough posting-up in what Rome and the Romans were."²¹

It was undoubtedly the creative realism, the natural simplicity of the Greeks, which appealed to Whitman. Perhaps the United States, as Ferrero has often pointed out, was too much like Rome, — possessive and highly organized, primarily materialistic, and assertive. Throughout his prose work, *Democratic Vistas*, this thought runs. Whitman was his own prototype, his own ancestor, so to speak. He wished to intensify and develop the current American myth, just as

the Greek populace criticized the open-air dramatic representations of great ideas. His work was a living organism.²²

It is natural that the French versions of classical literature should not appeal to Whitman. Racine's tragedies are "on stilts": all the talk is artificial heroics. While he regards the Greek drama as a normal growth, appropriate to its contemporary setting, Corneille, Racine, and their kind "derive from the mere study of that growth." The great French buskin and the frontier American buckskin do not harmonize, however suited the former may be to the Gallic theatre.²³ "We see the shreds of Hebrews, Romans, Greeks; but where, on her own soil, do we see, in any faithful, highest, proud expression, America herself?"²⁴ In this respect, France was too imitative, and America "second-hand."

In the case of two British poets, one contemporary and one nearly so, he falls foul of what he regards as an inadequate presentation of the Greek idea. Keats is no more Greek to him than the Sonnets of Shakespeare: his poetry is ornamental, "but its feeling is the feeling of a gentlemanly person lately at college — he does not come home to the direct wants of the bodies and souls of the century."²⁵ We are amused, and cannot help asking: "Why should he?" He was writing great verse for a little clan, for a remnant, not for a nation. Walt is justified, however, when he remarks, in an interview with James Huneker on the subject of Swinburne's poetry: "Isn't he the damnedest *simulacrum*!"²⁶ Perhaps the underlying reason for both statements was his ingrown habit of relating everything to the principle of democracy. As the Long Islander passes along the hospital beds during his service to the sick and wounded of the Civil War, he regards the present as the criterion for literary expression:

What are your dramas and your poems? Not old Greek mighty ones, where Man contends with Fate and always yields — not Virgil showing Dante on and on amid the agonized and the damned.²⁷

The Iliad, the Bible, and the Aeschylean tragedies were grandly planned; but the building is not even half done.

Our American people should be quick to catch the significance of great issues and performances, as were the Hellenic audiences who appreciated Aristophanes and Pindar.²⁸ The Civil War could be "the verteber of poetry and art, far more grand, in my opinion, to the hands capable of it, than Homer's Siege of Troy, or the French wars to Shakespeare."²⁹

This casting aside of tradition may be a gesture to cover his assim-

lation and use of the tradition itself. Like the hero in the Greek drama, he can be cured only by the spear point that wounded him. Basil de Selincourt comments³⁰ acutely on Whitman's sometimes rowdy and defiant prefaces (many of them not published) to *Leaves of Grass*:³¹ "It is the climax when literature, the armoury of the mind, serves him with weapons for an assault upon itself." The Moving Fingers of both the Concord Brahmin and the Brooklyn rebel wrote the famous words: "The time is at hand," etc.; but they did so in different ways.³²

I was looking a long while for a clue to the history of the past for myself, and for their chants — and now I have found it.

It is not in those paged fables in the libraries (these I neither accept nor reject);

It is no more in the legends than in all else;

It is in the present — it is this earth today;

It is in Democracy — the purport and aim of all the past.³³

.

Come, Muse, migrate from Greece and Ionia,

Cross out, please, those immensely over-paid accounts, —

That matter of Troy, and Achilles' wrath, and Eneas's, Odysseus' wanderings.

Placard *Removed* and *To Let* on the rocks of your snowy Parnassus.

For know a better, fresher, busier sphere, — a wide untried domain awaits, demands you.

A welcome to the Modern Muse, — "illustrious emigré":

Calliope's call is forever closed.³⁴

In his Dartmouth College poem of 1872 he sang to the same effect:

Nor rhyme, nor the classics, nor perfume of foreign court or indoor library,

But an odor I'll bring to-day as from forest of pine in the North, or breath of an Illinois prairie.³⁵

Yet in his self-written notice of this poem (*As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free*) he "puts into form, for present and future time, — the Hebrew spirit, and Homer the war-life of pre-historic Greece, and Shakespeare the feudal shaper of Europe's kings and lords."³⁶ There may be, he admitted later in conversation, among Greek and Roman sources, "some seedstuff of our American liberty — older suggestions of it"; but it is to him an incomplete type of liberty, unsuitable to the Western continent.³⁷ Even when Whitman discusses, in an article

written for the *American Statesman*, the problem posed by the Seven Wise Men of Greece, asking "which is the most perfect popular government," he concludes that the most perfect form occurs only "when the earth is not monopolized by the few to the injury of the many." Another naive bit of contemporary patriotism — if not jingoism — in which he was disillusioned after 1865, celebrates the National Capital: "Our writers may pen as much as they please of Italian light and of Rome and Athens — But this city is of course greater materially and morally to-day than ever Rome or Athens."³⁸ For the elevation of a democracy unknown to past ages, literature must be freed from its fetters. "The tiny ships, Old and New Testament, Homer, Eschylus, Plato, Juvenal, etc.," should go to the bottom if they do not serve the great American "ensemble." "Will the day ever come," he cries, "when those models and lay figures from the British Islands, and even the precious traditions of the classics, will be reminiscences, *studies* only?"³⁹ To what extent Whitman's tongue was in his cheek, we cannot tell; but it is clear that the slogan had to be emphatically shouted. How much of the individual *ego* is included in the abstract *ego* of these words? — "I have eulogized Homer, the sacred bards of Jewry, Aeschylus, Juvenal, Shakespeare, etc., and acknowledged their inestimable value. But I say there must, for future and democratic purposes, appear poets (dare I to say so?) of higher class even than any of these."⁴⁰ Finally, in the world of religion and morals, a new force is needed: "The philosophy of Greece taught normality and the beauty of life; Christianity teaches how to endure illness and death. I have wondered whether a third philosophy fusing both and doing full justice to both might not be outlined." There have been two great religions, "the Greek Sage, the classic masterpiece of virtue; the Jew, the Christ, the Consolator." In addition to "the antique two, there is more still — that which is not the soul, that which is not conscience, — these, and whatever exists, I include."⁴¹ If Bacon took all knowledge to be his province, Whitman seems to have taken the whole universe.

It is not our purpose to struggle with Walt's semantics. Such abstractions as "an ideocracy of universalism" require a deep-sea diver to understand. Nor can we pin him down when he declares: "The liberalist of to-day has this advantage over antique or medieval times, that his doctrine seeks not only to individualize but to universalize."⁴² He probably means that our ideas should be relevant to our times, as those of the Greeks were to theirs.

III. "COLLECTIVE COMPACTION" ⁴³

Amid all Whitman's challenge and innovation, there is evidence of a deep interest in the ancient writers ⁴⁴ — in reverse, as we have said, but slowly verging towards something definite. Like a child who is learning to ride a bicycle and hits the stone which he is trying to avoid, the poet has them always in mind. An unpublished preface to *Leaves of Grass* ⁴⁵ betrays the inner feelings of the author.

The theory of the poem involves both the expression of the hottest, wildest passion, bravest sturdiest character, not however illustrated after any of the well-known types, the identities of the great bards old or modern. Nor Prometheus is here, nor Agamemnon, nor Aeneas, nor Hamlet, nor Iago, nor Antony, — nor Lucretian philosophy —. In the poems taken as a whole unquestionably appears a Great Person — at least as great as anything in the Homeric or Shaksperian character, a person with the free courage of Achilles, the attributes even of the Greek deities — but often Democratic forms — worked over, cast in a new mold.

The old material may be contributory and relevant, under the proper circumstances. We must have "the divine literatus" who will do what was done "in reminiscence, by two special lands, petty in themselves yet inexpressibly gigantic, beautiful, columnar — Immortal Judah lives, and Greece immortal lives in a couple of poems." ⁴⁶

In his very latest prose work, *November Boughs*, the writer, whose ideas have mellowed, urges the ancient tradition to shake off its fetters and identify itself with modern issues: ⁴⁷

The Homeric and Virgilian works, the interminable ballad-romances of the Middle Ages, the utterances of Dante, Spenser, and others, are upheld by their cumulus-entrenchment in scholarship, and as precious, always welcome, unspeakably valuable reminiscences.

The process need not be negative:

One part of the American literatus's task is to treat the old hereditaments, legends, poems, theologies, and even customs, with fitting respect and toleration, and at the same time clearly understand and justify and be devoted to and explain our own day, its diffused light — The poems of Asia and Europe are rooted in the long past — but America is to sing them all as they are and are to be. ⁴⁸

Quotations, imitations of the sparrow — lyric of Catullus, or the love-songs of Anacreon, ⁴⁹ are out of order. No "intellectual manikins should parade before you as you write." They should be used "only

as they relate to the new, present things, — to our country, to American character or interests.”⁵⁰

The inner Whitman betrays his allegiance, however, in a remark on Whittier. This distinctively American poet, respected and regarded by Whitman himself as such, did not quite satisfy his formula: “Too lean,” said Walt, “*not Greek enough*.” “Ideal Americanism would take the Greek spirit and law, and democratize and scientize and thence truly Christianize them for the whole, the globe, all history, and ranks and lands all good and bad.”⁵¹

The aged Whitman, however, after his pioneer-challenge had been published and discussed, settles down, like Oedipus at Colonus, into an attitude of reconciliation of modern with ancient. The popular hopes expressed in *Democratic Vistas* had not been justified.

It is not generally realized, but it is true, as the genius of Greece and all the sociology, personality, politics, and religion of those wonderful states resided in their literature or aesthetics, that what was afterwards the main support of European chivalry, holding it together for hundreds, thousands of years — so that it still prevails powerful to this day, — was its literature.⁵²

He partially recanted from his emphasis on the contemporary and the concrete:⁵³

I have said many times that materials and the Soul are great, and that all depends on physique;

Now I reverse what I said, and affirm that all depends on the aesthetic or intellectual,

And that criticism is great, and that refinement is greatest of all,

And I affirm now that the mind governs, and that all depends on the mind.

With this swan song or palinode may go a stanza, written in 1860 but relevant to our quest:⁵⁴

With antecedents,

With Egypt, India, Phenicia, Greece, and Rome,

With the poet, the skald, the saga, the myth, and the oracle,

With those old continents whence we have come to this new continent

You and Me arrived.

I know that the past was great, and the future will be great

And I know that both curiously conjoint in the present time.

IV. LOOSE-LEAF LEARNING

Whitman was a voracious reader. As an office boy in Brooklyn at the age of eleven, he was introduced by a kindly employer to a cir-

culating library. Editor of the struggling *Long Islander* in Huntington before the age of twenty, "Progressive" schoolmaster boarding from house to house, staff-member of the Brooklyn *Eagle* and the New Orleans *Crescent*, — he browsed voluminously for editorial and lecture material. This was his college: his foreign languages were all read in translations. An informal journalist, he called himself a "jour printer." His attempts at short stories were awkward: we find in the *Columbian Magazine* for March 1844 a semiclassical, semi-Poe-like tale, — *Eris, A Spirit Record*, with the Daughter of Night, Sister of Mars, Mother of Strife, as the feature.⁵⁵ He was a slow starter in both prose and poetry; but it was self-created progress. He records his admiration for the French artist Millet, whose self-imposed reading in peasant youth was the Bible and Vergil, as Walt's own was Homer and Shakespeare.⁵⁶

He describes his method: ⁵⁷ "Every now and then I carried a book in my pocket — perhaps tore out from some broken or cheap edition a bunch of loose leaves — but only took it out when the mood demanded. In that way, out of reach of literary conventions, I re-read many authors." All the while he was nursing the great idea: "The ranges of heroism and loftiness with which Greek and feudal poets endowed their god-like or lordly-born characters, I was to endow the democratic averages of America." ⁵⁸

He reads Buckley's *Iliad* "first thoroughly on the peninsula of Orient, northeast end of Long Island, in a sheltered hollow of rocks and sand, with the sea on each side." ⁵⁹ Aeschylus, Sophocles, Ossian, Shakespeare, were his week-end companions. Besides availing himself of circulating libraries in New York and Brooklyn, between 1836 and 1850 he "went regularly every week in the mild seasons down to Coney Island — at that time a long bare unfrequented shore, which I had all to myself, and where I loved, after bathing, to race up and down the hard sand, and declaim Homer or Shakespeare to the surf and sea-gulls by the hour." ⁶⁰ At Far Rockaway, he tells us, "I had a leisurely bath and naked ramble as of old in the warm-gray shore-sands, my companions off in a boat in deeper water (I shouting to them Jupiter's menaces against the Gods, from Pope's Homer)." ⁶¹ Homer was his favorite: he knew most of the translations. Palmer was good; Buckley was best; Bryant and Derby were "damnable." Pope was a machine: "He wrote like a see-saw." When Traubel remarked to Walt ⁶² that Aeschylus had interested him in youth more than Homer, Walt said: "That is because you must have come upon Pope's translation of Homer, — the most damnable trans-

lation that ever was conceived." In 1857, he tells us, he was reading Vergil:

The Aeneid seems to me well enough, except for the fatal defect of being an imitation, a second-hand article — Homer's *Iliad* being the model. It is too plain an attempt to get up a case, by an expert hand, for Roman origin and for the divine participation in old Italian affairs just as much as in those of besieged Troy and in mythical Greece. The death of Turnus seems to me a total failure. The Bucolics and Georgics are finely expressed: they are first-rate.⁶³

Some lists of Whitman's reading are available. For his many book reviews in the Brooklyn *Eagle* between 1846 and 1848, he read widely: among the lists are Anthon's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, J. R. Boyd's *Eclectic Moral Philosophy*, Baron von Müller's *History of the World*, J. Salkeld's *Classical Antiquities*, Leonhard Schmitz's *History of Rome*, W. C. Taylor's *Modern British Plutarch*, F. von Schlegel's *Philosophy of Life and Philosophy of Language* (translated by A. J. W. Morrison).⁶⁴ Later in his life he told Traubel, his Boswell,⁶⁵ with regard to Grote's writings, "I have read them (the volumes of his history) carefully, fully, more than once — more deliberately than usual for me: there is no work near the equal of it treating of the Greeks." "As a young man you should particularly read Grote: he is an equipment in himself."

In 1885, at the age of sixty-six, he writes to a friend that he has on his table in the Mickle Street house in Camden a Bible, several Shakespeares, and "a nook devoted to translations of Homer and Aeschylus and the other Greek poets and tragedians, with Felton's and Symonds' books on Greece."⁶⁶ This was the backbone of his reading throughout his life. Only the Bible and Shakespeare appeal to him with a similar attraction. Traubel sums up Walt's literary ways, as Walt himself agreed: "Whitman is very familiar with the formal classics in a general way. In our talk to-day (September 16, 1888) he referred at times to Aristophanes, Plato, Socrates, Marcus Aurelius, the Bagavad Gita, Euripides, and Seneca."⁶⁷ His knowledge was always employed large-scale, and not on *minutiae*.

V. "PERNOCTANT NOBISCUM, PEREGRINANTUR, RUSTICANTUR"

It is almost entirely in his prose that we get the tangible evidence of all this reading in the classics. To Whitman as a poet, the Castle Garden Opera House becomes the Parthenon. To the author of *Specimen Days*, *Democratic Vistas*, and multitudinous experimental essays, comparisons are more specific.

The old man, watching the swallows as they flashed about on Timber Creek, "recalled the twenty-second book of the Odyssey, when Ulysses slays the suitors — and Minerva, swallow-bodied, darts up through the spaces of the hall, sits high on a beam, looks complacently on the show of slaughter."⁶⁸ Homer, curiously enough, is rated by Walt as more essentially democratic than Shakespeare. The latter is to him a poet of the aristocracy, not as much "in touch with the spirit of our modern democracy as the plays of the Greeks, — as the Homeric stories in particular." The Greeks criticize "their nabobs" freely. They speak of the "Divine hog-keeper," of the dignity of labor.⁶⁹ Modern scholarly testimony backs the belief that even the gods were not always possessed of their Olympian dignity: "Even Zeus," says Professor Greene, "though he can smile as well as frown, is sometimes no more than a clumsy, hot-tempered pater-familias, whereas the swineherd Eumaeus has all the virtues."⁷⁰ Homer comes to mind in modern connections, especially in the conflict between North and South: "What the ancient siege of Ilium, and the puissance of Hector's and Agamemnon's warriors proved to Hellenic art and literature, and all art and literature since, may prove the war of attempted secession of 1861-5 to the future esthetics, drama, romance, poems of the United States."⁷¹

An amusing colloquial description of the famous man-beast dialogue indicates Whitman's familiarity with Homer:

You remember Homer: the divine horses: "Now, Achilles, we'll take you there, see you safely back again, but only on condition you will not do this thing again — act unwisely, will be steady, peaceful, quiet, — cut up no capers." But you know Achilles said: "No, let what must come: I must cut up my capers." So it was with me.⁷²

A comic presentation of obedience to destiny, or the will to persist! A ferryboat deckhand testifies: "I have seen a youth swabbing a steamboat's deck with Walt Whitman's Homer in his monkey-jacket pocket."⁷³

Brave Central Park policemen remind him of the "Ulyssean derring-do." A New York magistrate is "Rhadamanthus on the bench." The changes in Boston from a stern Puritanism to its present pleasant "Hellenic atmosphere" resemble the layers of civilization revealed in Schliemann's Troy. Original as Walt claimed to be, he identifies himself in the *Nation* for February 17, 1874: "The immortal Hebraic poems, Virgil's and Juvenal's compositions, Dante's, Shakespeare's, and even Tennyson's, from the highest point of view

are all and each such characteristic yet generic growths. Walt Whitman is the same, in my opinion." At the thought of Abraham Lincoln in future years, some ancient soldier will speak with moist eyes, "like the journeying Ithacan at the banquet of King Alcinous, where the bard sings the contending warriors and their battles on the plains of Troy:

'So from the sluices of Ulysses' eyes
Fast fell the tears, and sighs succeeded sighs.' "

"As I dwelt on what I myself heard or saw of the mighty Westerner — it seems like some tragic play, superior to all else I know — vaster and fiercer and more convulsionary for this America of ours, than Eschylus or Shakespeare ever drew for Athens or for England." And in his lecture, often given, on the death of Lincoln, he sums up: "Why, if the old Greeks had had this man, what trilogies of plays, what epics, would have been made out of him! How the rhapsodes would have recited him! — More fateful than anything in Aeschylus, more heroic than the fighters around Troy!" The Greek, he feels, defines Persons, without making individual character subordinate to the type. Hence the significance of Achilles, Ulysses, Theseus, Prometheus, Hercules, Aeneas, Plutarch's heroes,⁷⁴ and others. Commenting on *Custer's Last Rally*, painted by the artist John Mulvany, Whitman declares: "Nothing in the books like it, nothing in Homer, nothing in Shakespeare, with all its color and fierce action, a certain Greek continence pervades it." ⁷⁵

Homer's very simplicity, his "inventoriness" in addition to the grand style which Arnold, Whitman's literary enemy, praises, — this trait appealed particularly to Whitman. But so did certain other Greeks, and for other reasons. If Homer was his companion, with a copy always on his living-room table, so was the "choice little Epictetus," "a sacred book," always in his pocket or close at hand, replaced later by the new translation sent him in 1881 by his friend T. W. Rolleston. Traubel reports him as "very fond of it. I often surprise him reading it. He quotes it often, though never literally, always in substance," "quoting rather to the spirit than to the letter." ⁷⁶ The poet himself remarked to his friend: "I have carried this Epictetus with me for years — it has been kicked, cuffed, slammed about, — been on the floor — is still not broken — is intact." He desired that the book of his old age, *November Boughs*, should be printed in the same format. "I have often said with Epictetus: 'what is good for thee, O Nature, is good for me.' " With all his admiration

for Goethe, he agrees with Emerson in finding a fault: "All the great teachers, the Greek, the Roman, — Plato, Seneca, Epictetus, in some respects placed a related emphasis on personality, identity; yet all those eminent teachers were superbly moral, while Goethe was not." ⁷⁷ Goethe, he felt, spoke great but selfish utterances, while the others "looked for collective results." And to Whitman the word "collective" was the ethical goal of his democratic message. "Epictetus is the one of my old cronies who has lasted to this day without cutting a diminished figure in my perspective. He is a universe in himself. He sets me free in a flood of light — He was a favorite, even at sixteen — I first discovered my book in the second-hand bookstores of Brooklyn and New York — it was like being born again." His copy "was all under-scored with purple pencillings." ⁷⁸

The Wise Man is the subject of a paragraph found in his MS notebook; ⁷⁹ it contains a collection of certain cardinal sayings of Epictetus:

He reproves nobody,
Praises nobody,
Blames nobody,
Nor even speaks of himself.
If anyone praises him, in his own
mind he condemns the flatterer.
If anyone reproves him, he looks
with care that it does not irritate him.
All his desires depend on things within his power.
He transfers all his aversions to those
things which nature commands us to avoid.
His appetites are always moderate.
He is indifferent whether he is thought foolish or wise.
He observes himself with the
nicety of an enemy or spy, and
looks on his own wishes as betrayers.

In his extreme old age, the Good Gray Poet made two statements which indicate the hold Epictetus had upon his mind. One was made orally to two British visitors, and one was circulated in print as a quotation from the *Boston Transcript* of May 7, 1891:

I guess I have a good deal of the feeling of Epictetus and Stoicism — or tried to have — But I am clear that I allow and probably teach some things Stoicism would frown upon and discard — Let Plato's steeds prance and curvet — but the master's grip and eyes and brain must retain the ultimate power, or all things are lost.

And: "The Epictetus saying, as given by Walt Whitman in his own quite utterly dilapidated physical case, is 'a little spark of soul dragging a great lummux of corpse-body clumsily to and fro around.' " ⁸⁰

Whitman was happiest in the company of Epictetus and Homer. But the supreme artist, in his eyes, was Aeschylus. So highly did he regard this Greek tragic writer that he fell foul of his dear friend William O'Connor when he compared the philosophy of the "moping Hamlet" with "the great normal crushing passions of the Greek dramatists — clearing the air, refreshing afterward, bracing with power." The great problem, as the tragedian saw it, appealed to him vividly: "The Greeks are full of this idea: the idea that the gods hate prosperity," — a plain definition of *ἰβρις*.⁸¹ "As depicter and dramatist of the passions, Shakespeare is equal'd by several, and excelled by the best old Greeks — as Aeschylus."⁸² As one editor to another, he praised Bryant, his good friend, a man "with morals as strong and fateful as anything in Aeschylus."⁸³ To limn Lincoln's portrait would need "the eye and brain and finger-touch of Plutarch and Aeschylus and Michael Angelo, assisted by Rabelais:"⁸⁴ a superb diagnosis and a comparison-motto to Sandburg's volumes. A rather absurd strain is put on the poetry of Burns, who deserves "a precious nestling niche of his own," but is "not all great for New World study, in the sense that Isaiah and Aeschylus and the Book of Job are unquestionably great."⁸⁵ This is the same error in criticism as that which we noted in the case of Keats. "Some folks think that Shakespeare is primarily the poet of the passions and their unfolding; but in cyclonic, thunder-crashing, air-clearing passion, I rather think Aeschylus greater."⁸⁶ More valuable than any sea-borne cargoes are "these tiny ships we call Old and New Testament, Homer, Aeschylus, Plato, Juvenal, etc. Precious minims!"⁸⁷ While this "epanaphoric" method of criticism would hardly suit St.-Beuve or Arnold, it is characterized by informal sincerity, and by an affection for often-read favorites.

Apart from his devotion to Epictetus, we find no concentrated study of ancient philosophy, though there are frequent allusions to many philosophies with conspicuous omission of Aristotle. Whitman's knowledge of these sages was casual, though extensive. In the case of Epicurus, whose fragments of course were unknown to him, his attention was caught by Fanny Wright's *Day in Athens* and its fanciful description of the Master. As a lad of ten or eleven, he had heard her lecture. "She had got pretty well soaked with the teachings

of Epicurus before she wrote the book. — I like the style of the greatest sages — Epicurus, Epictetus, Emerson, Darwin.”⁸⁸ Whitman, however, calls himself, characteristically, “the greatest poetical representative of German philosophy” (with which declaration his friend Rolleston agreed). John Burroughs, following Walt’s declaration that “the only complete actual poem is the Kosmos,” comments thus: “The Hegelian philosophy in the *Leaves* is as vital as the red corpuscles in the blood — so much is implied that is not stated — the erudition is concealed.”⁸⁹

In Whitman’s early days his use of ancient philosophy was more informal and anecdotal. “All the old philosophers were loafers. Take Diogenes, for instance. He lived in a tub, and demeaned himself like a true child of the loafer family.”⁹⁰ He maintained that his favorite actor, the elder Booth, “illustrated Plato’s rule that to the forming of an artist of the very highest rank a dash of insanity or what the world calls insanity is indispensable.”⁹¹ The Long Islander, who would day-dream for hours, claimed to resemble Socrates because he himself

had an unusual capacity for standing still, rooted on a spot, at a rest, for a long spell, to ruminate — hours in and out, sometimes. The stories of Socrates, of his courage, invincibility, nerve, inertia — are very credible. They seem quite possible — the non-miraculous garb in which they have come down to us does in some degree attest them.⁹²

In very un-Jowett like language he modernizes the two main tenets of Socrates: ⁹³ “the whole pack of philosophers, scholars, were damned fools and didn’t know it; and he, who was also a fool, acknowledged it.” The *δαίμων* of the Athenian sage is used as a figure by Whitman also: “I didn’t get it,” he said to Traubel, “the Demon did not move me: I am very obedient to the Demon.” In contrast with the “prepared prudence” of Emerson, the method of Socrates was characterized by “the clear eye which winds safely about and through all snarls and sophistries to the honest roots of the case. These fellows had the advantage at the start of knowing what they were after.” Notes for some lectures describe the person who has passed from the first “Beatitude” to the second, “the full vestibule”: such a one may suspect that “what we call the Present, Reality, etc. with all its corporeal shows, may be the Illusion.” And again: ⁹⁴

I do not doubt that interiors have their interiors and exteriors have their exteriors — and that the eyesight has another eyesight, and the hearing another hearing, and the voice another voice.

O what is proved to me this day without cavil, that it is not my material eyes which finally see.

Nor my material body which finally lives walks laughs embraces procreates.

One notes the spirit of Plato in such a thought as this: "Power, love, veneration, products, genius, esthetics, tried by subtlest comparisons, analyses, and in serenest moods, somehow fail, somehow become vain. Then, noiseless, with flowing steps, the lord, the sun, the last ideal comes. By the names right, justice, truth, we suggest but do not describe it." ⁹⁵ A magazine commentator said of Walt: "Without, perhaps, much insight into Plato the divine, he is a Platonist 'in the rough' " ⁹⁶ — an interesting half-truth. The poet, however, had felt such a comparison when listening to Elias Hicks, the Quaker minister, who "taught throughout the Platonic doctrine that the ideals of character, of justice, of religious action, are to be conformed to no ordinary doctrine of creeds, — but are to follow the inward Deity-planted law of the emotional soul." ⁹⁷

There are, besides mention of the Stoics, traces of them in his writing: "The soul or spirit transmits itself into all matter — into rocks, and can live the life of a rock, — into the sea, and can feel itself the sea, — into the earth, into the motions of the sun and stars." So emphatic was Whitman on this motif that when discussing with his friend Symonds the significance of his much-debated *Calamus* poem, the poet denied any thought of the customs of the "martial Dorians" and asserted that he simply meant "the communication of soul with soul." ⁹⁸

The comprehensive conception of the Kosmos brings into play much of the poet's reading in ancient sources. "What the Roman Lucretius sought most nobly — must be done positively by some great coming *literatus*, especially poet, who will absorb whatever science indicates — confront Nature, Time, and Space." ⁹⁹ His Theory of Nature, different from that of the eighteenth-century reasoners, was both ethical and physical. Marcus Aurelius inspired his pet motto: "Virtue, what is it? Only a living and enthusiastic sympathy with Nature." ¹⁰⁰ Talking with some visitors about the value of Physiology, he remarked: ¹⁰¹ "It is a secondary matter. Not, as in Homer's Iliad, to depict great personalities, — but to arouse that something in the reader which we call Character (as Nature does)." And as a physical cult or habit he testifies: "Probably the whole curriculum of first-class philosophy, beauty, heroism, form, illustrated by the old Hellenic race, — the highest height and deepest

depth known to civilization in these departments, — came from their natural and religious idea of Nakedness.”¹⁰² And over the whole, from love of the open air to abstract philosophy, broods the spirit of Natural Law: “Those universal, unconscious laws which run through all Time, pervade history, prove immortality, give moral purpose to the entire objective world, and the last dignity to human life.”¹⁰³

VI. FINE ARTS, SEMANTICS, AND METRE

In his early days, Whitman's reading was accompanied by an interest in art — the sort for which a hungry nonacademic self-cultivator, seeking the Testament of Beauty, would yearn. In his editorial period he frequented the Brooklyn Art Museum and occasionally lectured on sculpture and painting, superficially but as a conscious part of his “autodidactic apprenticeship in culture.” “I have always,” he declared, “wished to know more about certain mysteries in Greek art — of Greek painting and music — their comparative primitiveness as compared with their literature and sculpture.”¹⁰⁴ Characteristically, he commends the wisdom of “the old Grecians and Latins in not swaddling their statues.”¹⁰⁵ In Brown's Statuary, a local exhibit at the Society Library, he especially “liked two marble bas reliefs — one of the Pleiades and another of the Hyades,” as well as an Adonis, “good, though not up to our ideas of ‘Myrrha's immortal son.’” Moncure D. Conway, on a visit to the poet in 1857, found no pictures in his room in Brooklyn, except “two prints, a Bacchus and a Silenus” — perhaps provocative aids to some of the contemporary eyebrow raising. On his Washington ramblings, between hospital visits, he comments on the Genius of America, a work destined to stand over the Capitol — “a sort of compound of Choctaw squaw with the well-known Liberty of Rome (and the French Revolution) and a touch perhaps of Athenian Pallas (but very faint).” In a lecture before the Brooklyn Art Union (March 31, 1851) he praises the wisdom of the ancients in not making death ghastly: “In the temple of the Greeks, Death and his brother Sleep were depicted as beautiful youths reposing in the arms of Night. At other times Death was represented as a graceful form, with calm but drooping eyes, his feet crossed and his arms leaning on an inverted torch.” This to Whitman is true art. There was never such an artistic race, he maintained. And the subject reminds him of Pericles' funeral oration — “his proudest boast was that through his means no Athenian ever had to put on mourning.” The same theme is emphasized in his

Centennial Dithyramb, preface of that year's edition of *Leaves of Grass*.¹⁰⁶

This, the art which drew Whitman's particular attention, and which he mentions far oftener than any other, was the art of the Greeks, studied in a combination of sight-seeing, extension lectures, and avid reading.

The second feature indicative of a conscious interest in the classical tradition was the coinage of new words. As a pioneer, the Bard of Manahatta desired a new set of slogans: in so doing, he turned to foreign languages.¹⁰⁷ He had in mind "names to be revolutionized." "I say we have now a greater age to celebrate, greater ideas to embody than anything even in Greece or Rome — or in the names of Jupiter, Jehovah, Apollo, and their myths." Aboriginal words — Mississippi, Ohio, Connecticut, were desirable. And yet his own coinages (for enrichment of the language) are copied, or counterfeited, in many cases from the ancient tongues. His friends quizzed him on his frequent use of a Latin dictionary to find novel words.¹⁰⁸ His first autobiographical notes are written for a friend who desires "the go-befores and *embryons* of *Leaves of Grass*." "What is Nature?" asks Whitman: "What were the elements, the invisible backgrounds and *eidolons* of it, to Homer's heroes, voyagers, gods? What all through the wanderings of Vergil's Aeneas?"¹⁰⁹ The curious inquirer may harvest many of these unusual words.¹¹⁰

One trespasses on dark and dangerous ground in a discussion of Whitman's metres. The poet's main contention was rebellion against the worship of regular verse-form: he was meditating a structure which he himself called "autochthonous." His friend Longfellow, for example, was possessed by "an idiosyncrasy, almost a sickness, of verbal melody." Accordingly, with some preliminary bows to the "heroes that lived before Agamemnon,"¹¹¹ he creates what he regards as something essentially American and novel.

There are critics, however, who maintain that this brand of free verse, which is now in familiar use and provokes no special comment today, was not novel in 1855, when *Leaves of Grass* was first published. Blake, Ossian, Jean Paul, Samuel Warren, Old English rhythm, and other antecedents have been mentioned;¹¹² and there are some grounds for Whitman's reflection of the Ossianic melody. It is unlikely that Matthew Arnold's *Strayed Reveller*, which was published in 1849, made an appeal to him, if indeed it came to his attention; just as it would be absurd to ascribe many of Whitman's natural hexameter lines to the influence of Longfellow's *Evangeline*, pub-

lished in 1847. The old controversy about quantitative or qualitative verse-units need not concern us here: and the introduction of old Latin Saturnian forms would be impossible pedantry. Arnold, in his tragedy *Merope*, written in 1858, was seeking a conscious equivalent for the Euripidean strophe; if Whitman falls sometimes, as he does, into the same rhythm, it is a less conscious product than Arnold's.

Some have accounted for much of this free verse by Whitman's continuous Bible-reading and the effect of such language as the Psalms and the Book of Job. "Great poets discarded metre: the early Jewish poets knew it not."¹¹³ Others have ascribed it to "memories of the arias and recitatives of the Italian opera," which he attended for many years as a "deadhead" journalist in New York.¹¹⁴ Basil de Selincourt disagrees with Paul Elmer More, who felt that Walt's metre was based on some sort of pre-Homeric primitive hexameter; he believes simply that Whitman's verses and stanzas occur "in a certain measure or pulsation appropriate to the emotion it has to convey."¹¹⁵

Bliss Perry notes frequent spontaneous hexameters, six-foot anapaestic lines, and little *clausulae* at the end of long stanzas, such as:

Smile, for your lover comes!

The same biographer cleverly presents an experiment of rendering a prose passage from Ruskin's *Notes on Turner* into hexameters without a change in the wording. J. A. Froude had tried the same trick *in reverse*, writing out a piece from Arnold's *Strayed Reveller* in prose — also without an alteration of phraseology.¹¹⁶

However this may be, Whitman himself had said:¹¹⁷ "Break down the barriers of form between prose and poetry — regardless of rhyme and the measurement — rules of iambic, spondee, dactyl, etc." The Muse of the Prairies could devise something more "autochthonous." How original this was, in the case of a poet who began his early experiments in the metres he later abandoned, and how much unconscious refraction of ancient sources he himself would have acknowledged, we cannot tell. Whether he went about his work as Gerard Manley Hopkins did, conforming at first and then breaking away with his "sprung rhythms,"¹¹⁸ is an open question. Again, whether Arnold and Whitman were gleaners in the same field is a superfluous inquiry; although the former's free verse, according to Lionel Trilling,¹¹⁹ was "crystallized" into a sort of *recitative*, and Whitman summed up his own poetical efforts as *recitatives* also, on the analogy of the previously mentioned Italian opera, and without

mentioning the Greek drama which was so familiar to him in translation.

To narrow our quest: there is in Whitman frequent use of strophe and antistrophe in loose form. Many of these are unrestricted odes, but logically divided according to the idea. In the last two stanzas of *A Dirge for Two Veterans*, we note a strophic construction:

O strong dead-march, you please me!
My heart gives you love.

(another little *clausula*). Walt acknowledges the contributions of the past and at the same time produces a variety of hidden metres: ¹²⁰

Dead poets, philosophers, priests,
Martyrs, artists, inventors, governments long since,
Language-shapers on other shores,
Nations once powerful, now reduced, withdrawn, or desolate,
I dare not proceed till I respectfully credit what you have left, wafted
hither:
I have perused it — own it is admirable — (moving awhile among it);
Think nothing can ever be greater, nothing can ever deserve more than it
deserves;
Regarding it all intently a long while — then dismissing it,
I stand in my place, with my own day, here.

He bursts his bonds in defying any tradition, literal or metrical: ¹²¹

Magnifying and applying come I,
Outbidding at the start the old cautious hucksters,
Taking myself the exact dimensions of Jehovah,
Lithographing Kronos, Zeus his son, and Hercules his grandson;
Buying drafts of Osiris, Isis, Belus, Brahma, Buddha,
Taking them all for what they are worth, and not a cent more;
Admitting they were alive and did the work of their days.

In this last case, there is little resemblance: the lines run on indefinitely, "inventory-wise." And such speculation of Whitman's verse-poems is a dangerous game to play. But here are embedded three hexameters, followed by two entirely "free" verses of pioneer construction: ¹²²

Having studied the new and antique, the Greek and Germanic systems,
Kant having studied and stated — Fichte and Schelling and Hegel,
Stated the lore of Plato, and Socrates, greater than Plato,

And greater than Socrates sought and stated — Christ divine having studied
 long,
 I see reminiscent today those Greek and Germanic systems.

The sceptic may say that in Whitman's unrestricted verse unconscious hexameters, pentameters, and an occasional trochaic septenarius are bound to occur by mathematical probability. But there are too many of them to be haphazard.¹²³

We found our own, o my soul, in the calm and cool of the daybreak.

Sing from the swamps, the recesses, pour your chant from the bushes,
 Limitless out of the dusk, out of the cedars and pines.

These last two lines, from Lincoln's Burial Hymn, are essentially (and correctly) elegiac. *Pioneers, O Pioneers* is a run of trochaic septenarii, or octonarii:

We the surface broad surveying, we the virgin soil upheaving.

From the mine and from the gully, from the hunting trail we come.

All the hands of comrades clasping, all the Southern, all the Northern.

One puts forward such samples with a certain hesitation; but the testimony of Whitman's reading makes a "probable improbability" — which the great drama-critic declares to be the better alternative.

The sea itself, as in the choruses of Euripides, can explain much in Whitman's verse-forms. The youth who delighted in declaiming Homer to the Atlantic waves as he ran along the beaches of Far Rockaway and Coney Island, or conned the old masters as he lay in a sheltered nook near Montauk Point, had absorbed the rhythm of the ocean — πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης, — and the feeling of the poets who reacted to its inspiration as he himself did. "I felt I must one day write a book expressing this liquid mystic theme." He notes the verse-waves, "hardly any two ever alike in size or measure." The tension and release of the pressure of ocean against the land is turned by him into human channels.¹²⁴ There is surge and thunder in other poems besides the *Odyssey*. Here is his Lincoln-like dream: ¹²⁵

A dream — a stretch of interminable white-brown sand — with the ocean perpetually, grandly, rolling in upon it, with slow-measured sweep, with rustle and hiss and foam, and many a thump, as of low bass drums. This scene, this picture, I say, has risen before me at times for years. Sometimes I wake at night and can hear and see it plainly —. In my youth it

came to me that instead of any special lyrical or ethical or literary attempt, the sea-shore should be an invisible influence, a pervading gauge and tally for me, in my composition.

Just as the poet-critic himself would have done, we should draw no hard-and-fast conclusions from such an examination of Whitman's interest in the classical tradition. We need not inquire into details: for Walt is elusive. But it seems clearly to be true that this tradition colored his procedures and furnished material which was often unrecognizable in its final form. New words, new metres, a new democracy, lifting of certain *tabus*, and independence in general, are his characteristics. And it seems to the reader of his prose that, with the exception of the Bible, the reliques of medieval, feudal, Elizabethan, and later European literature ran second to his enthusiasms for the ancient Greeks. It was a less conscious copyright than that of the Founding Fathers, and one more typical of personal emotion, or a different type of Founder in the struggle for The American Way.

NOTES

1. *Leaves of Grass*, Philadelphia, 1900, p. 93.
2. F. O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance*, Oxford University Press, 1941, p. 651.
3. Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, New York, 1914, III, 531-532.
4. J. A. Symonds, *Walt Whitman, a Study*, London, 1893, pp. 17, 159. See also H. S. Morris, *Walt Whitman, a Brief Biography*, Harvard University Press, 1929, p. 44.
5. John Burroughs, *Whitman, a Study*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1896, pp. 13, 60, 115. For other comment on Whitman in this connection, with special reference to his classical interests, see Clara Barrus, *Whitman and Burroughs*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931, pp. 17, 40, 53, 192, 276, 303, 308.
6. "I am old and indolent, and cannot study (and never did)." *Complete Prose Works*, Kennerly, New York, 1914, p. 487.
7. W. S. Kennedy, *Reminiscences of Walt Whitman*, London, 1896, pp. 16, 136. For an occasional contradiction, for "slogan" purposes, of this "open-air" theory, see *Complete Prose Works*, p. 269; also the *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, Putnam, New York, 1902, VI, 28, from "Notes on the Meaning and Intention of *Leaves of Grass*."
8. Traubel, *op. cit.*, II (1908), 502.
9. E. L. Masters, *Whitman*, New York, 1937, pp. 61, 224.
10. E. L. Masters, *op. cit.*, p. 235. Whitman, *Complete Prose Works*, p. 317. For an example of "inventoriness," see *Leaves of Grass*, McKay, Philadelphia, 1900, p. 26.
11. Note, however, comment by J. A. Symonds, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
12. Ralph L. Rusk, *The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, New York, 1949, p. 372.

13. *Essay on History*.
14. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 497. (from *Good-Bye, My Fancy*).
15. *Ibid.*, p. 74 (from *Specimen Days*).
16. See W. P. Mustard, *Classical Echoes in Tennyson*, New York, 1904. Whitman especially liked *Lucretius* and the *Lotos-Eaters*: *Complete Prose Works*, p. 405.
17. See "Melville's Reading," by Merton M. Sealts, Jr., *Harvard Library Bulletin*, II, No. 2, pp. 378-392; III, No. 1, pp. 119-130; III, No. 2, pp. 268-277 (to be continued). Among the volumes noted are Grote, a German translation of *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Diogenes Laertius (ed. Bohn), Chapman's Homer, and 37 volumes in Harper's Classical Library.
18. E. Dowden, *Percy Bysshe Shelley*, London, 1887, II, 256. Newman I. White, *Shelley*, London, 1947, II, 539-545.
19. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 233.
20. T. B. Donaldson, *Walt Whitman, the Man*, New York, 1896, p. 135. Traubel, *op. cit.*, III, 531. E. L. Masters, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-228. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 291. Traubel, I, 59, 357.
21. See Bliss Perry, *Walt Whitman*, Boston, 1906, p. 38.
22. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 492.
23. *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, New York, Putnam, 1902, VI, 82.
24. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 237 (from *Democratic Vistas*).
25. *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, 1902, VI, 120 (from *Preparatory Reading and Thought*). Traubel, *op. cit.*, III, 83.
26. Masters, *op. cit.*, p. 222 (from Huneker's *Ivory Apes and Peacocks*).
27. E. Holloway, *Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, New York, 1921, II, 22. *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, New York, Putnam, 1902, VI, 100.
28. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 492 (from *Good-Bye, My Fancy*).
29. *Ibid.*, p. 304.
30. *Walt Whitman, A Critical Study*, London, 1914, p. 31.
31. "May-be I am non-literary and non-decorous." *Complete Prose Works*, p. 405.
32. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 490.
33. *Leaves of Grass*, David McKay, Philadelphia, 1900, p. 239.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 441 (On the Centennial Exposition of 1876).
35. *Ibid.*, p. 452.
36. See Bliss Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
37. Traubel, II, 53.
38. Emory Holloway, *op. cit.*, I, 166 and II, 35.
39. *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 232 and 144 (from *Democratic Vistas* and *Specimen Days*). *Ibid.*, p. 283.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 245. See also pp. 291, 483, 490.
41. Holloway, *op. cit.*, II, 91-92. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 524.
42. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 214.
43. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 333.
44. G. R. Carpenter, *Walt Whitman*, Macmillan, 1909, p. 22.
45. May, 1861, C. J. Furness, *Walt Whitman's Workshop*, Harvard University Press, 1928, p. 136.
46. From *Democratic Vistas*, *Complete Prose Works*, p. 200.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 393. For a picture of American classical scholarship and its lack of adaptation to the contemporary mind in the mid-nineteenth century, see the early chapters of *The Education of Henry Adams*.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 493.
49. See, however, Walt's interest in Anacreon's *Midnight Visitor*, from Thomas Moore's translation. Furness, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
50. *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, Putnam, 1902, VI, 4, 11, 35 (from *Notes on the Meaning and Intention of Leaves of Grass*).
51. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 485. (*On Old Poets*, from *Good-Bye, My Fancy*.) See p. 246 for a new combination of Lucretius with modern science.
52. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 200 (from *Democratic Vistas*).
53. *Leaves of Grass* (1900 ed.), p. 503.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
55. Holloway, *op. cit.*, I, 86.
56. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 320. Traubel, *op. cit.*, III, 93.
57. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 192 (from *Specimen Days*).
58. Preface to *November Boughs*, 1888.
59. Bliss Perry, *Walt Whitman*, p. 37.
60. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 9.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
62. Traubel, *op. cit.*, I, 126, III, 257.
63. *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, Putnam, 1902, VI, 101. In one passage he confuses the titles: has been reading "The Bucolics, Eclogues, and Aeneid" (from *Preparatory Reading and Thought*).
64. Holloway, *op. cit.*, I, 126-127.
65. Traubel, III, 40. Whitman also praises Froude's *Caesar* highly.
66. Holloway, *op. cit.*, II, 61. Traubel, III, 516, II, 264.
67. Traubel, II, 332. How well he knew the "Hindu Ecstasies," as he calls them, is an open question. Thoreau asked him in 1856 if he had read the Oriental writers, and he replied: "No: Tell me about them." H. S. Canby, *Walt Whitman, an American*, New York, 1943, p. 152.
68. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 132 (from *Specimen Days*).
69. Traubel, I, 240.
70. W. C. Greene, *Moirs*, Harvard University Press, 1944, p. 11.
71. *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 289 (from *Poetry Today in America*), 304, 211, 508.
72. Traubel, III, 95. Homer, *Iliad*, XIX (closing lines). Whitman may also be recalling the prophecy of Achilles' mother, as told in Plato's *Apology*, 28.
73. G. R. Carpenter, *Walt Whitman*, Macmillan, 1909, p. 82.
74. Traubel (I, 51.) repeats to W. W. the story about Turner's blacking out one of his brilliant paintings in order to save other artists the humiliation of the contrast. "Beautiful!" says W. W.: "As fine as anything in Plutarch! The common heroisms of life are the real heroisms."
75. For all these statements, see *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 127, 172, 438, 221-222, 180, 309, 436. Also, Masters, *op. cit.*, p. 281 and Holloway, *op. cit.*, II, 11.
76. Traubel, *op. cit.*, I, 207. Also see I, 337, 423, 462; II, 175; III, 4, 110, 159, 186, 252, 253, etc.
77. See R. L. Rusk, *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 1949, p. 377. "Though a law-giver of art, Goethe was not an artist."

78. Traubel, II, 71.
79. Holloway, II, 94.
80. J. Johnston and J. W. Wallace, *Visits to W. W. in 1890-1*, London, 1917, pp. 256, 254. H. S. Canby, *Walt Whitman, An American*, New York, 1943, p. 285.
81. Traubel, III, 81.
82. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 283 (from *Poetry Today in America*) and *ibid.*, p. 320.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 303.
85. *Ibid.*, pp. 399-400.
86. Johnston and Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 213, and *Complete Prose Works*, p. 320.
87. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 232.
88. F. O. Matthiessen, *op. cit.*, p. 541; Traubel, II, 445 and 517.
89. For this Hegelian trend, see W.'s *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 168-170, 245. C. J. Furness, *Walt Whitman's Workshop*, pp. 149, 236. W. S. Kennedy, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144 and John Burroughs, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
90. Holloway, I, 44 (from *Sun-Down Papers*, No. 9, in *The Long Island Democrat*, Nov. 28, 1840).
91. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 428. Plato — e.g., *Phaedrus*, 245. Traubel, II, 39; Plato, *Symposium*, 220. See Traubel, II, 256 for an imaginary dialogue between Socrates and a phrenologist.
- 92, 93. *Ibid.*, III, 400, 435. For the "Demon," see Socrates' "sign," as in Plato, *Phaedrus*, 242.
94. M. T. Maynard — *Walt Whitman, The Poet of the Wider Selfhood*, Chicago, 1903, pp. 49, 39. E. Holloway, *Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, New York, 1921, II, 64. C. J. Furness, *Walt Whitman's Workshop*, pp. 13 and 49.
95. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 240.
96. *National Intelligencer*, Washington, D.C., Feb.-March, 1856. H. S. Canby, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
97. *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 386, 467-468, 499.
98. B. de Selincourt, *Walt Whitman, A Critical Study*, London, 1914, p. 205. Vergil, *Aeneid* VI, 724-728.
99. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 246.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
101. Johnston and Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
102. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 98 (from *Specimen Days*).
103. *Ibid.*, p. 332. See Cicero, *De Re Publica*, III, 22, 33. Whitman probably found this second-hand and perhaps quoted from memory. There are many other classical quotations or references. Among them are: *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 4, 83, 97, 104, 112, 114, 147, 165, 175, 176, 202, 268, 368. Furness, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 84. Traubel, *op. cit.*, III, 142.
104. Traubel, I, 108.
105. For this, and similar comments, see E. Holloway, *op. cit.*, I, 192, 142-143; II, 32; I, 243-244. Also, *Complete Prose Works*, p. 483.
106. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 274. See also James Thomson, *Walt Whitman, the Man and the Poet*, London, 1910, p. 9.
107. Many of these words were French, many classical. In an early magazine article — *America's Mightiest Inheritance*, W. listed five pages of foreign words —

"much needed in English." Van Wyck Brooks — *The Times of Melville and Whitman*, New York, Dutton, 1947, p. 135.

108. For some testimony, see E. L. Masters, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53; *Complete Prose Works*, p. 2, etc.; Louise Pound, "Walt Whitman's Neologisms," *American Mercury* IV, 200 (Feb. 1925); C. J. Furness, *Walt Whitman's Workshop*, p. 247.

109. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 290 (from *Specimen Days*). How far did Poe, whom Whitman knew personally and had read, have a part in a gift to Whitman of this "eidolon named Night"?

110. See his *Poems*, pp. 15, 115, 180, 351, 385, etc. *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 1, 16, 76, 95, 120, 161, 186, 201, 233, 303, 315, 399, etc. Traubel, *op. cit.*, I, 357, etc. Holloway, *op. cit.*, II, 69, 85, etc.

111. *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 186-187. "Agamemnon" is presumably Walt himself.

112. F. B. Gummere, *Democracy and Poetry*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911, chap. iii, pp. 96-148 (a study of Whitman and Taine). See also Sculley Bradley, *The Fundamental Metrical Principle in Whitman's Poetry*, *American Literature*, Jan. 1939, X, No. 4, pp. 437-459.

113. For example, H. S. Canby, *op. cit.*, p. 313. See *The Bible as Poetry* in *Complete Prose Works*, pp. 381-382.

114. C. J. Furness, *op. cit.*, p. 195. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 14.

115. de Selincourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-93.

116. B. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-84. Froude, *Essays in Literature and History* (a review of Arnold's 1853 edition of poems, in *Westminster Review*, 1854).

117. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 318 (*Ventures on an Old Theme*).

118. F. O. Matthiessen, *op. cit.*, pp. 579, 584-592. Hopkins disapproved of the "old scoundrel" — did not want to write or be like him. How far he fell into the poetic trap, is debatable.

119. *Matthew Arnold*, 1939, pp. 143-144.

120. *Poems*, p. 19. See also p. 12 for a passage like a Greek strophe. M. T. Maynard, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

121. *Poems*, p. 78.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

123. *Poems*, pp. 349, 130, 293, 257, 103, 61, 57, 371, 18, 310, etc.

124. Van Wyck Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 125. Matthiessen, *op. cit.*, p. 564.

125. *Complete Prose Works*, p. 89 (from *Specimen Days*).

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D.

ROBERT ANGUS BROOKS — *Ennius and Roman Tragedy*¹

THIS study attempts a new assessment of the remains of Ennius' tragedy. Since they are renderings of Greek plays, they have been commonly judged by the strict criteria of modern translation, and found wanting. No dramatic or poetic purpose has been recognized behind the constant interpolation and alteration of his original which appears in his fragments. But these purposes and the poetic values which emerge from them do exist in his work; to recognize them, we must examine first Ennius' creative environment and the nature of his self-consciousness as a poet. Then it may be possible to approach his dramas and judge them on his own terms, without demanding that they render no more than the original sense of his Greek models. Such an evaluation will indicate an importance in his dramatic work as permanent and significant as that of his epic.

I. In his *Annales*, Ennius' self-consciousness appears most clearly. By his dream of Homer in the proem he symbolized his recreation of the Greek epic, both in style and heroic outlook, for the contemporary age. The recreation was inspired by the material which he handled; he made the *res Romana* itself an epic hero. This attitude was imitated neither from the Greek epic writers nor from his Roman predecessors. Ennius mediated between the two cultures, and in his work expressed consciously and for the first time the possibilities of a derivative literature.

II. But the self-consciousness of his epic intention could not be immediately transferred to his drama. The atmosphere of the Roman stage in Ennius' time was unfavorable to explicit literary theory. Terence, in the next generation, was probably the first to expound critical standards of drama, and the plays in which he embodied these standards were not generally well-received by the public. Even those Plautine prologues which show a corollary development of clagues and coteries in the Roman audiences can hardly belong to the same age as the rest of Plautus' work, and must be assigned to later revivals of his plays. The audience of Ennius' drama, then,

1. Degree in Classical Philology, 1949.

was less sophisticated and critical than that of his epic. The concept of an *alter Euripides* may still be present in his work — for the bold image of the *alter Homerus* is not quite commensurable with the studied theory of Terence — but he must go about his task of recreating the masters of the Attic drama in a different environment and with a different aim.

III. The work of Plautus shapes this environment for us better than that of Terence. Plautus' comedies often touch upon contemporary tragedy, as Terence's do not, both in language and in matter. A majority of his references to heroic myths correspond to themes which Livius, Naevius, and Ennius also handled. His language, too, often parodies the speech of Roman tragedy, rather than copying the reminiscences of Euripides or other Greek tragedians which his originals contained. He used both techniques, the mythological simile and the tragic parody, to give his characters, especially his slave-principals, a burlesque-heroic quality. By this means he transformed the psychological comedy of manners into something approaching, however distantly, the "heroic comedy" of Aristophanes. Not only the language but the stature of his heroes also was inspired by the representations of the tragedians. Ennius must have derived from the Greeks something more than sonority and spectacle.

IV. All the early tragedians of Rome came from Southern Italy, and must have maintained their contacts with the educated circles of the Greek cities there. The vigorous dramatic tradition of these cities supplied them, at least until the age of Terence, with material, technique, and the whole aura of scenic and artistic tradition which surrounded the classic tragedies. Throughout the Hellenistic world, and presumably in Italy also, the Greek scenic festivals involved both old and new dramas, produced by the Dionysiac guilds. The two classes were strictly separated in competition. In the course of time, the old plays underwent considerable changes at the hands of the producers or actors, who cut or inserted speeches, and introduced effective business or spectacular tableaux. The Italian vase-paintings directly attest the popularity of these old plays on the stage, and inscriptions show that the Dionysiac guilds were active here as in the eastern Greek world. The plays of Euripides were the most popular, but those of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and some lesser fifth- and fourth-century tragedians were also produced. The status of the classic tragedies, constantly reproduced in different versions, must have been fluid enough so that the modern concept of "translation" cannot be strictly applied to any poet working in this environment.

V. Certainly the Roman poets all learned from the contemporary Greek stage, especially from the producers of old dramas. There are many traces in their work of histrionic and spectacular additions which recall the Greek practices. In Ennius' work, too, the distribution of his twenty plays among the Greek models recalls just such a repertoire as might have been typical of the Dionysiac guilds. The majority (twelve) of his plays are Euripidean, but at least one is from Aeschylus, another possibly from Sophocles, and the rest from minor or unknown tragedians. But in spite of these similarities there remains the fundamental problem, not encountered by the Greek poets or producers, of the passage from one language to another. The Roman poets were compelled to reinterpret every word and image of the original; in responding to this necessity they created the art of translation, but in a far wider sense than the word bears today.

VI. The nature of this art appears most clearly in the four plays of Ennius whose Greek originals are extant: *Medea*, *Iphigenia*, *Hecuba* from Euripides, and *Eumenides* from Aeschylus. Criticism of the fragments from the other plays must proceed largely by inference from these. In only one case, the *Alexander*, are the fragments of Euripides' play extensive enough to justify any independent conclusions. If the fragments of these plays, especially those which show some alteration of the original, are closely examined, we can see that many of Ennius' changes were impelled by a unified dramatic conception of a scene, a character, or a whole play. He did more than elaborate, rhetorically or otherwise, upon his models; he created from them. Sometimes from the words of his original, sometimes from the visual suggestions which would become clear in a stage presentation, he produced dramatic or poetic images that reflect his mastery over the Latin language and the Roman tradition. Many of these images, in fact, show his capacity to penetrate and clarify the meaning of the Greek by specifically Roman associations. Beside general evocations of Roman institutions and *mores*, he used particular phrases and formulae which would recall, with all its suggestions, the ceremonial and religious language of Rome. He did not introduce this technique, any more than his general derivations, in order to destroy the effect of his original, or to render it more palatable to his audience. Rather he increased and sharpened by Roman means the impact of the Greek tradition.

VII. To the Romans of this age, the Greek myths must have represented no more than attractive and marvelous tales, lacking for the most part artistic shape or profound meaning. It was the achievement

of Ennius, perhaps more than of any previous poet, to supply this shape and this meaning. He brought together *miraculum* and *exemplum*. His tragedies, then, by different means and in a far broader field than his epic, explored the possibilities of derivation. He established the *auctoritas* of Greek culture at Rome, and so patterned the whole course of Roman literature. Since his time, all the literature of the West has been produced in the same bilingual (or multilingual) environment which was created by his establishment of Latin as a self-sustaining vehicle for creative expression. He may be justly called in this sense the first poet of modern literature.

JOHN FREDERICK CARSPECKEN — *Apollonius Rhodius and the Homeric Epic* ¹

INTRODUCTION. The *Argonautica* of Apollonius, despite its fame and influence in antiquity, is held in little present esteem, possibly because it is judged by standards either Homeric or Vergilian. The following chapters study the poem in its relation to certain aspects of the Homeric epic, in an effort to determine the nature of the poem and its proper place in epic tradition.

The Catalogue. The Catalogue of the Argonauts is derivative, in origin and plan, from the Catalogue of the Ships in the *Iliad*. A similar geographical pattern is followed, and, within limits imposed by difference in subject, the same methods of obtaining variety of presentation are employed. The internal arrangement attempts to sustain more constant interest by judicious distribution of the most famous names; the characterization of individuals is more dramatic and more extensive; there is greater variety of motivation for joining the group. The catalogue provides a complete listing of the complement of a fifty-oared ship, and careful attention is paid to the pre-Homeric time of the expedition. Unlike the Catalogue of the Ships, this catalogue occurs at the beginning of the poem and is introduced as the first action of the poem; the arrangement is such that the list ends with Argus, the architect of the Argo, and Jason, the cause of the expedition, and at Pagasae, the point of departure for the voyage.

1. Degree in Classical Philology, 1950.

The Extended Simile. Similes occur in the *Argonautica* with approximately the same frequency as in the *Iliad* and occupy the same percentage of lines. In form and general content they closely resemble those of Homer, and are often used in similar fashion. Apollonius, however, seeks formal variety by relying less on one or two introductory particles, and the similes more often begin and/or end within lines, indicating an attempt to provide closer metrical integration of simile and narrative. The same general fields of experience are used as subjects, but the similes of the *Argonautica* place increased stress on domestic life and indicate increased awareness of the inner life of man. The similes frequently employ multiple, rather than single, points of comparison with the narrative, and the relationship between simile and narrative is often so close that the simile assumes narrative functions and conveys information essential to the narrative. In general, the similes of the *Argonautica* intensify the meaning of the narrative moments they illustrate, whereas in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* they serve to extend the narrative. Among certain similes there is an apparent internal connection, especially in those concerning Jason and Medea, and the star-similes present a developing symbolism which acts as a commentary upon the action.

The Hero. The character of Jason is not heroic, lacking courage and decision. Unlike Homeric heroes, who redeem moments of despair and inactivity by displays of heroic virtue, Jason is unable to meet the demands of any occasion, save when an ability to charm women is necessary. Lack of a single strong hero deprives the poem of the basic unity of an *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. Apollonius is guided by the necessity for creating a Jason and a Medea who may in time become the characters of Euripides' *Medea*. The conception of the gods in the *Argonautica* also affects the characterization, for their lack of vigor is reflected in the persons whom they favor, and their uniform support removes much of the element of danger and conflict, since the success of the quest is never in doubt. The material of the poem is not designed to glorify any individual: if Jason is made a great hero, the other Argonauts are superfluous, while if their legendary qualities are displayed, there is little field for individual heroism. Apollonius indicates that his interest lies in the achievement of the group, not in the individual. Although the individual abilities of Argonauts are given opportunity for use, no individual is allowed to dominate the action. Either his weaknesses counterbalance his virtues, or he is disregarded in scenes where he might have shown signal valor. Each

man performs the one act for which he is particularly suited; Jason's heroic quality is his beauty, which serves to ensure the success of the quest by winning the love of Medea. But the poem has as its subject a heroic group, not a group of heroes.

The World of the Poet. The poem has often been considered to be a romance, that is, a loosely organized tale of fantastic adventure, dealing, in some part, with love; but it is to be questioned whether it fulfills these requirements any more exactly than do the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*, both of which contain nearly identical elements. There is no doubt that the *Argonautica* is the work of a romantic mind, a mind aware of inner feelings and sensitive to inner significance, observant of the coexistence of good and evil, pleasure and pain, in all things. This romanticism is especially revealed in the poet's preoccupation with withdrawal from the present and with the attempt to recreate the pre-Homeric past, as shown in the aetiology of the poem and the heavy stress laid upon magic. The poem represents an attempt to create a world seen for the first time. It contains an obscure allegorical element: man, limited in his own abilities, unites with his fellows in pursuit of apparently desirable ends, finds little satisfaction in their attainment, but at last recognizes his true desire, a safe return to the security of home, the past which he has left. Like the greater epics, the *Argonautica* presents an ideal, but its ideal of escape and withdrawal is negative and serves inadequately to provide the vital, unifying force inherent in positive heroic or national ideals. The poem fails through the defect of the age in which it was written and through the lack of a conception of individual human dignity and worth. But it is an important link in the epic tradition, for by its reworking and renewing of the technique of heroic epic, by establishing a new criterion of formal unity, and by introducing the romantic sensitivity, it prepares the way for development of the epic poetry of the future.

ALLAN GEORGE GILLINGHAM — *The Prooemia in Cicero's Works on Philosophy, Politics, and Rhetoric*¹

WRITING to Atticus in July, 44 B.C. (*Ad Att.* 16.6.4), Cicero stated that he had inadvertently inserted in the *De Gloria* a proem which he had already used in the third book of the *Academica*. It was his custom, he says, to select from a book of proems when preparing a new work. He rectified his mistake by "dashing off" a new proem to be substituted in the *De Gloria*.

This statement of Cicero's has prompted an examination of the prooemia in Cicero's works on philosophy, politics, and rhetoric, and an attempt to discover what can be inferred about Cicero's *Volumen Prooemiorum*, its size, the nature of its contents, its purpose, and the occasions on which it was used.

The history of the proem, in theory and practice, is briefly traced in so far as it seemed relevant to this study. While the proem in the forensic branch of oratory receives most attention from the professional writers, the instructions for the preparation of the epideictic proem are much scantier, and are generally to be inferred from the treatment given to the proem in the forensic and deliberative branches. It is assumed that these later works of Cicero would most conveniently come under the head of epideictic writings. Aristotle (*Rhet.* 3.14.1) points to the *Helen* of Isocrates as an instance of the epideictic proem unrelated to the main body of the work. Other works of Isocrates display this same feature. Demosthenes prepared, it would seem, a book of proems. The proems in Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* and *Bellum Iugurthinum* are almost interchangeable and are not particularly pertinent to the main body of the monographs.

Cicero indicates in his works on rhetoric that the orator ought to have at his command a stock of commonplaces on various themes that confront the orator.

Perhaps reckoning on a long period of enforced idleness from political affairs, Cicero envisaged in the spring of 45 B.C. a philosophic corpus: an examination of the works that followed warrants the inference that Cicero was more interested in ethics and logic than in natural philosophy. Proems of a general or commonplace nature could be prepared beforehand for such works.

So far as available, the proems in the philosophic works from the *De Consolatione* and *Hortensius* to the *De Officiis* are next examined.

1. Degree in Classical Philology, 1949.

In the *Academica*, the latter half of the *Lucullus* proem would seem to have come from the *Volumen Prooemiorum*. It could have been the proem later used for the third book in the second edition. The original *Catulus* proem, though lost, was probably revamped when Varro was introduced as participant, but could have come also from the book of proems. From this source doubtless came also the proem to the first book of the *De Finibus* (possibly a conflation of two proems), the proems to the *Tusculan Disputations* (except for Sections 1 to 6 of the fifth book), also Sections 6 to 12 of the proem in the *De Natura Deorum*. The first book of the *De Divinatione* has a specific introduction to that book, which was apparently provided at the expense of Quintus' opening discourse. The proem to the second book reads like a farewell to philosophy, prepared when Cicero confidently expected to adopt the rôle of elder statesman. The opening of the *De Fato* has been lost, but it does not seem likely that a proem from the *Volumen* would have been used. The proem to the second book of the *De Officiis*, inserted quite casually, certainly came from the *Volumen*; and its contents recur in part in the *Lucullus*, *De Nat. Deor.*, and *Tusc. Disput.*

The *Timaeus* fragment is of interest in preserving part of a work before the proem, whether from the *Volumen*, or specially prepared, had been affixed.

The political works are next considered. The proems in the *De Re Publica* are quite elaborate and represent closely reasoned essays on a set theme. If Cicero planned the *De Legibus* to follow closely on the *De Re Publica*, fictive date and date of composition were meant to coincide; hence the introductory portions are interwoven with the rest of the dialogue. For some reason the work was interrupted and perhaps never published.

An examination of the proems in the works on rhetoric, while revealing certain resemblances to those in other works of Cicero, indicates that none of these would have come from the *Volumen Prooemiorum*.

In conclusion, the philosophic works of Cicero's later years are characterized by proems of an indifferent sort. He makes, usually, no distinction between a proem for an entire work and one for an individual book. Here, the prime purpose appears to be the effort to justify philosophical writing as a native form of literature. The majority of these would have come from the *Volumen Prooemiorum*. Those extant may be calculated to amount to about 23 Teubner pages, i.e., the length of *De Fin.*, Book One. The *Volumen* was doubt-

less considerably larger. Its contents revolve about a rather narrow range of topics. Its preparation could not have been justified as an economy measure, but developed from Cicero's habit of preparing *loci communes* and was largely an exercise in rhetoric.

EDWARD A. ROBINSON — *The Date of Cicero's De Legibus* ¹

THE common opinion that Cicero began the *De Legibus* in close conjunction with the *De Republica* (54–51 B.C.) seems to be contradicted by both external and internal evidence. Although the *De Legibus* represents itself as a sequel to the earlier work, there is no *a priori* reason why it need have followed immediately, no evidence in the extant portions of the *De Republica* that such a sequel was contemplated through 51 (*Rep.* 1, 12–13 may signify almost the contrary), and no hint in Cicero's frequent allusions to the *De Republica* in later years that he did not regard that work as an adequate expression of his political ideas as late as 44 (cf. *Div.* 2, 3; *Off.* 2, 60). The selection of Atticus as a *dramatis persona* (cf. *Att.* 13, 22, 1) and the "Aristotelian" form (cf. *Att.* 13, 19, 3–4) of the *De Legibus* argue rather strongly against early date, the more so if the final selection of the "Heraclidean" form for the *De Republica* rested at least in part upon considerations of political prudence (cf. *Q.F.* 3, 5, 1–2); if this is so, it is difficult to understand why Cicero should immediately have proceeded with a sequel in which the dramatic date is set in the present and in which writer and speakers would have had to take full responsibility for the opinions expressed.

The studied silence toward Caesar and Marcus' unqualified and apparently sincere admiration of Pompey likewise do not agree with the actual position of the Ciceros in 52, the dramatic date of the dialogue. The capital argument, however, against early date may lie in at least two anachronisms implicit in the dramatic date just mentioned: the assumed presence in Arpinum of Quintus Cicero, who was in Gaul at the time of the year indicated; and the fact that the speakers refer to the completed *De Republica*, which was not published until shortly before Cicero's departure for Cilicia (May, 51),

1. Degree in Classical Philology, 1950.

and which Atticus evidently had not studied in detail until even later, as appears from an examination of the correspondence with Atticus in 51-50. These details, difficult or impossible of explanation if one assumes a real date of writing prior to May, 51, are readily understandable as oversights or otherwise if we predicate a considerable interval of time between the fictive dramatic date and the real date of composition.

The period between May, 51 and November, 44 is practically excluded for various reasons, 51-47, as is generally agreed, by the unsettled conditions of Cicero's existence at this time, 46-44 in part by the silence of the correspondence with Atticus and by Cicero's preoccupation with other work, in part by the total irrelevance of the *De Legibus* to the political circumstances of these years: *Fam.* 9, 2, 5 (April, 46) may indicate at most that Cicero contemplated a work of this general character — hardly our present treatise — about that date). Therefore a period roughly within the last year of Cicero's life is suggested, although it is unlikely that the months after May or June, 43 need be seriously considered. This is confirmed by Cicero's universal silence regarding the work in his other treatises (cf. especially *Div.* 2, 1-7) and, as has been said, through the close of the correspondence with Atticus in November, 44; by the general relevance of the subject matter to Cicero's interests and literary plans during the later part of 44, among which the project of writing a history (discussed in the prologue of the *De Legibus*) and a marked preoccupation with legal matters in the contest with Antony may be stressed. It is also confirmed by numerous parallels in the *Philippics* of 44-43; and by the many well-known reminiscences of the late philosophical works, which emphasize points of difference in the spirit, manner, and method of the *De Legibus* as compared with the *De Oratore* and *De Republica*, and which include passages that seem to point to the preëxistence of the *De Natura Deorum* and *De Divinatione* and treat matters formally considered in the *Academica*, *De Finibus*, and other late works in such a manner as to suggest that these, too, were in Cicero's mind as he wrote. Points of contact with the *De Officiis*, otherwise the latest essay extant today, are particularly common. Finally, there seems to be no special reason to believe that Cicero's great literary productivity of 46-44 was abruptly terminated by the struggle with Antony, since at least the *De Virtutibus* must be dated later than the *De Officiis*, on which Cicero was still engaged as late as November, 44, and in which he promises still further writings. The composition of the *De Legibus*, a work somewhat

compendious in nature as compared with certain other of the essays, and for the most part treating matters now thoroughly familiar to the author and of immediate interest in view of Cicero's return to public life, could well have been achieved in a relatively short time, perhaps largely during the comparatively quiet month of January, 43, though it is possible that the idea may have been maturing in Cicero's mind for some time previously and that work may have been carried on as late as March. The absence of the familiar non-dramatic preface probably indicates that the work was not published in Cicero's lifetime, and the loss of at least two books and our ignorance of the precise scope of the dialogue as planned prevent a positive answer to the question whether it was ever completed in an absolute sense.

While complete certainty in this matter is perhaps beyond the scope of the available evidence, the traditional arguments for the early date of any portion of the treatise lose much of their force when considered in the light of the cumulative evidence favoring a late date for the work as a whole. Historical allusions to events of the 50's are, properly speaking, pertinent only to the determination of the dramatic date (the antedating of the conversation to a time prior to the Civil War seems amply justified in view of the complicated political situation in late 44 and early 43), and reminiscences of works of the earlier period appear to be all explicable in terms of the common subject matter or of Cicero's lifelong literary habits.

If the *De Legibus* is the latest of Cicero's extant philosophical works, it may serve to clarify his position on several important points, and, as a political and autobiographical document, it may, so interpreted, throw new light on details of the political situation in 43. Some suggestions in this direction are offered, but the full exploitation of the material would manifestly exceed the limits of the present study.

The dissertation, which has been based upon a fairly exhaustive inquiry into the history of the problem since the sixteenth century, also calls attention to the merits of certain older treatments of the subject that are virtually unknown today, notably that of John Chapman (1741), some of whose arguments are here presented in revised form. It is hoped, further, that the investigation, besides clarifying some matters in the history of Ciceronian scholarship, will emphasize the need of greater precision and objectivity in the study of the literary chronology of Cicero.

THOMAS GUSTAV ROSENMEYER — *The Isle of Critias* ¹

THIS thesis inquires into the significance, and the antecedents, of Plato's Atlantis myth as featured in his *Timaeus* (17 A-27 B) and his *Critias* (complete). In Chapter I some of the theories which have been held regarding the historicity of Atlantis are summarized. Particular attention is paid to those "historicists" who have argued that the story of the mythical island is founded upon dim echoes of older civilizations in Spain, Africa, or the Atlantic islands. Plato was influenced, not by echoes of historical facts or events, but by the reflections and theories of his predecessors and contemporaries, particularly by the speculations of the Ionian scientists of the fifth century. The exact nature of this heritage, and a technique for distinguishing it from Plato's original thought, are the objectives of the dissertation.

In Chapter II it is shown that it is practically impossible to arrive at a valid definition, or at a fruitful classification, of Platonic myth. The poetic side of Plato's personality is strong enough to assert itself in defiance of the demands of any one logical argument. Thus the myth of the *Critias* calls for an examination on its own merits, with little or no reference to other Platonic myths.

In Chapter III the geography of Atlantis is analyzed. A hypothetical pre-Ionian chart of the *oikoumenē* is delineated to account for certain difficulties and fanciful elements exhibited by the *Erdbild* of Hecataeus and his successors. The myth of the western islands is part of the same intellectual atmosphere. The question — to be answered later — is whether the geography of Atlantis is merely Plato's automatic heritage from earlier generations of thinkers, or whether it also represents the pigment intentionally applied by him for purposes of portraiture. A short survey over Atlas in early Greek thought establishes the fact that Atlas was, to begin with, the horizon or rather the several pillars on the periphery of the earth carrying the sky. The pillars of Hercules and Sesostris are descendants of the old Atlas pillars. When the primitive cosmological notion was given up the pillar-spirit was projected into one person who with the gradual expansion of the known world traveled westward, always just beyond the reach of human exploration, but leaving in his wake such palpable traces of his course as Herodotus' Atlantes and Atlas mountain. The land of Atlas, peopled by the blessed Atlantians, was *the* mythical region of the extreme west; the Atlantic ocean derived its name from

1. Degree in Classical Philology, 1949.

the land or island, not vice versa. The myths told by Theopompus, Dionysius Scytobrachion, and others contain sufficient independent evidence to corroborate this theory. Thus Plato did not invent his island of Atlantis.

Chapter IV deals with the purpose of the myth, particularly of the war between Ur-Athens and Atlantis. It is generally assumed that Athens is the hero, and Atlantis the villain, of the story, and many scholars have attempted to identify the Atlantians with one of the known enemies of Plato's own Athens, especially with the Persians. The pitfalls of the "orientalizing" theory are stressed; furthermore it is shown that the Atlantians themselves are heroes of a kind: only in the eleventh hour are they, somewhat unconvincingly, changed into villains to provide a cause for the war. As we have the bulk of the tale, both Atlantis and Ur-Athens are ideal, or utopias, in their own right. Finally, the curious structure of Plato's account compels us to assume that the *Critias* was conceived before the *Timaeus*, and that the Atlantis story was incorporated in the *Timaeus* because at the time Plato did not intend to write the *Critias*.

In Chapters V and VI, the utopia literature and the social theories of the fifth century are sketched in their relation to Plato's thought. Long before Plato it became the fashion to write political pamphlets in terms of historical fact; blessed ancestors, or blessed barbarians, were credited with political and social achievements which the writer meant to advertise among his own contemporaries. The Atlantis myth is Plato's attempt to imitate such a pamphlet, to portray fifth-century literary tendencies. The Atlantians are not barbarians in the manner in which Plato normally conceives barbarians; their institutions and customs are essentially Greek, only magnified or idealized.

In Chapter VII the historiē of the fifth century in its relation to political utopia is shown to provide parallels to all the salient features of the Atlantis myth. The diagram underlying the description of Atlantian culture is basically the same as that found in the ethnological and geographical discussions of Hecataeus, Herodotus, and their followers.

In Chapter VIII the architectural and political detail of the Atlantian blueprint is analyzed, as well as some of the more striking anthropological elements. We conclude that the royal island empire of Atlantis by and large embodies the political dream of a fifth-century Athenian of anti-democratic but pro-maritime and pro-empire sympathies.

This man, as is shown in Chapter IX, must be Critias, the narra-

tor of the myth. The figure of Poseidon and the principle of the "dramatic relevance" of Platonic characters are cited to support our thesis. The literary and political career of Critias, with the Atlantis myth as additional evidence, is reinterpreted: he was neither a democrat nor an oligarch, but aimed at tyranny, a kingship of the intellectual in the interests of the people. He was, therefore, not only the forerunner of Plato in political theory — this theme is developed in Chapter X — but also anticipated Demetrius in practice. Plato paints Atlantis in attractive colors precisely because it represents the utopia of his revered kinsman, and thereby also the ideal of his own youth. Ur-Athens overcomes Atlantis only by a literary sleight of hand; in the development of Platonic thought, Atlantis constitutes an early but a vital stage.

There are two appendices. In the first, the identity of Plato's Critias with the Critias of the Thirty is established as against Burnet. In the second, Erich Frank's notion that Plato was the first to feature a spherical earth is analyzed and rejected. Plato did not yet fully emancipate himself from the fifth-century concept of a disk-shaped earth. Aristotle took the step; he clearly distinguishes between the disk theory and the sphere theory. Unfortunately he does not tell us, and we do not know from other sources, who is responsible for the discovery of the sphericity of the earth.

NOTES FOR READERS AND FOR LIBRARIANS

Abbreviations. In general, the Editors recommend the abbreviations set forth in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 54 (1950) 269-272, and in any subsequent revisions published by the *AJA*. Longer abbreviations will be freely permitted; but shorter forms, or divergent forms of the same length, will usually be discouraged.

Style. The "style" of *HSCP*, which has been fixed in the past by occasional "style sheets," will henceforth usually conform to the style set forth in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 54 (1950) 268-269, and any subsequent revisions published by the *AJA*. Authors are requested to note this change. Copies of this new style sheet are available free from the Editor of the *AJA*, 3101 R St. NW, Washington 7, D.C.

Indexes. Vols. 1 through 50 (but not 51 nor *Athenian Studies* [Suppl. Vol. 1]) are indexed, but only by titles of articles and names of authors, in Vol. 52 (1941). Each of Vols. 1-50 has a brief index of contents, and the first 32 volumes have in addition separate indexes of passages. Vol. 51 (1940) and Suppl. Vol. 1 (1940), which are companion volumes, have each an index of passages. Vols. 52 (1941) and subsequent volumes each have brief indexes of contents, except that the contents of Vol. 56/57 (1947) were such as to make an index impracticable. Vol. 60 (1951) has no index.

The contents of all preceding volumes are listed *in extenso*, article by article, at the backs of all volumes from 11 (1900) through 51 (1940), but not in *Athenian Studies* (Suppl. Vol. 1 [1940]), and not in subsequent volumes.

Doctoral Dissertations. Summaries of all doctoral dissertations accepted by the Department of Classics of Harvard University, and by Radcliffe, in Classical Philology, in Classical Archaeology, and in Mediaeval and Patristic Greek, and in Mediaeval and Patristic Latin, have been published, and will continue to be published, in the regular volumes, after the articles. Dissertations involving classical antiquity submitted to other departments (History, Fine Arts, Philosophy, History of Religion) are published in the series, Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, *Summaries of Theses . . . for the Degree of Ph.D.*, 1926 and later volumes (Cambridge, 1930 and following years; recently several years to a volume). For doctoral dissertations earlier than 1926, see Harvard

University, *Doctors of Philosophy . . . 1873-1926* (Cambridge, 1926).

Years of Publication. Vol. 1 of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* was published in 1890. One volume appeared each year thereafter, for example, vol. 10 in 1899, 20 in 1909, 30 in 1919, 40 in 1929, 50 in 1939. The numbering then runs as follows:

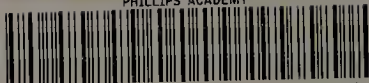
Year	Volume(s)
1940	51; issued with Supplementary Volume 1, <i>Athenian Studies Presented to W. S. Ferguson</i>
1941	52
1942	53
1943	54
1944	55
1947	56/57 (one volume)
1948	58/59 (one volume)
1951	60

Since there is no immediate prospect of an increase in income sufficient to publish volumes annually, the Department has voted to abandon the numbering of volumes to correspond with years in an unbroken series. Thus the volume issued herewith, in 1951, is numbered 60.

Availability. No complete set of the *Studies* is now available, and none will be available unless by gift to the Department of a considerable run of used copies. The following volumes are at present (November 1950) out of print, and there are no plans at present for reprinting them: 1-11, 14, 25, 32, 38, and *Athenian Studies Presented to W. S. Ferguson* (Suppl. Vol. 1).

S. D. for the Editors

PHILLIPS ACADEMY



3 1867 00072 4588

DATE DUE

Oct 4 '31

Apr 12 '60

FEB 22 1978

MAR 5 '84

MAR 21 '86

72055

Harvard studies in
classical philology

480

H26

v.60

